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A  
VIEW  
OF THE  
CAUSES AND PROGRESS  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY JOHN MOORE, M. D.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. II.

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Opus opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa  
etiam pacc sævum. TACIT.

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# CONTENTS

## OF THE

### SECOND VOLUME.

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#### CHAPTER XV.

**D***ARING* Conduct of Mirabeau—The Rabble arrive at Versailles—A Deputation of Poissardes accompany that of the National Assembly to the King—He gives a conciliatory Answer to the former, and the same Night assents to the Decrees of the Assembly—M. La Fayette, with the Parisian Army, arrives at Midnight—The Court, the Deputies, and M. La Fayette, retire to Rest—The Palace unexpectedly attacked in the Morning—Various Scenes of Horror—Insolence of the Rabble—Magnanimous Behaviour of the Queen—The Royal Family carried to Paris—Reception there. page 1

#### CHAPTER XVI.

*Reflections on French and British Loyalty—Anecdote regarding the Duke of Orleans—Reflections on his Character and the Part he took in the Revolution—On the Conduct and Views of Mirabeau—Expressions of four*  
Persons

A 2

Cambridge, Feb. 26, 1946 2v.

*Persons in a Tavern at Seve—Dismal State of the Royal Family on their Arrival at the Tuileries.* p. 35

CHAPTER XVII.

*Some principal Members of the National Assembly retire—The Royal Family lodge in the Palace of the Tuileries—The Duke of Orleans goes to England—Scarcity—A Baker murdered—Decrees for the Suppression of Insurrections—Robespierre opposes them—Plan for General Election every two Years—Reflections.* p. 58

CHAPTER XVIII.

*Decree respecting Bankrupts—Opinion of Mirabeau on that Subject—of the Duke of Rochefoucault—Abolition of Monasteries—for appropriating the Church Lands—Abolition of Titles—Reflections on that Subject, and on Armorial Bearings—Respect derived from Antiquity of Family—The Effect which the Creation of Peers has on it.* p. 87

CHAPTER XIX.

*Plans of the Noblesse and Parliaments for Resistance ill combined and ineffectual—Endeavour to deprive the National Assembly of the public Confidence—Paper War—The ill Conduct of the French has injured the Cause of Freedom more than the Arguments of their Enemies—The Red Book—Misunderstanding between M. Necker and M. Camus—Power of Peace and War.* p. 117

CHAPTER XX.

*Preparations for the Ceremony of the Confederation—Duke of Orleans returns to Paris—Offence taken at the Man-  
ner*

*ner of distributing Tickets—Ceremony—Jealousy and Misunderstanding between the Officers of the Troops of the Line and the National Guards—An Insurrection at Nancy—M. de Bouillé ordered to march to that Town—Heroic Action of a young Officer—Dreadful Scene of Slaughter—Effect it produced at the Capital.* p. 152

## CHAPTER XXI.

*M. Necker retires—Reflections on that Event—Inveteracy of the French against Ministers of State and Ecclesiastics—Long Habit more necessary to acquire Excellence in bodily than in mental Exertions—The National Assembly insists that the King shall sanction their Decree, obliging the Clergy to take the Oath to the Constitution—The Pope disapproves of it—the Effect this has on the Minds of the People—The King's Aunts determine to leave France and go to Rome.* p. 180

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Death and Character of Mirabeau—Insurrection of the Populace of Paris—Chevaliers du Poignard—The Royal Family stopped as they were going to St. Cloud—Reflections—Excessive Insolence of the Rabble—Société Fraternelle—Libels.* p. 210

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Observations on the different Conduct of Men to Monarchs in Prosperity and in Adversity—The Indignation formerly manifested by the French Nation against the English for their Conduct towards their Kings—Supposed Dialogue between Lewis XIV. and one of his Courtiers—All Attempts to alter Men's Opinions vain—Anecdote of one of*



*of the Chevalier St. Méard's Judges—A Republican Government often tyrannical—British House of Peers—Reflections—Rash Decrees of the Legislative Assembly—The French Nation no way interested in establishing a Republic in England or other Countries.* p. 255

CHAPTER XXIV.

*The National Assembly avoid any Inquiry concerning the Insults offered to the King—Strange Address of the Department of Paris to the King—Cardinal of Montmorency and Bishop of Senlis resign their Offices—King's Chaplains dismissed—The King hears Mass performed by a Constitutional Priest on Easter-day—M. La Fayette resigns his Command, and afterwards at the Entreaty of the Troops resumes it—King's Declaration to Foreign Courts—It has a bad Effect—Done against the Opinion of M. Montmorin—Scheme concerted with the Emperor for re-establishing the King's Authority.* p. 282

CHAPTER XXV.

*The Royal Family escape from Paris—are stopped at Varennes—Various Incidents on that Occasion—They are obliged to return to Paris—Reflections.* p. 327

CHAPTER XXVI.

*The Conduct of the National Assembly—Of the Parisian Populace—The King and Queen examined by Commissioners from the Assembly—Suspension of the King from his Public Functions—Universal Discussions—Le Républicain—M. de Condorcet—M. Brissot—Robespierre.* p. 355

CHAPTER XXVII.

*A curious Account of Petion by Robespierre—M. Barnave—Tumultuous assembling in the Champ de Mars—Two Persons massacred by the Mob—M. La Fayette, at the Head of the National Guards, attacks and disperses the Mob—Danton—Camille Desmoulins—Marat—Charlotte Cordé—Reflections—Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly.*

P. 392

CHAPTER XXVIII.

*The Legislative Assembly—The King determined to adhere scrupulously to the Constitution—The Gironde determined on a Republic—The King's Household Guards—Formation of the King's and the Queen's Household—A new Hardship put on the Clergy—The Veto exercised—Confusion this produces in the Assembly—Unforeseen Events in the Revolution—Disagreement among the King's Ministers—M. de Narbonne—M. de Bertrand—Administration dissolved.*

P. 426

CHAPTER XXIX.

*The Jacobin Administration—War with the Emperor—The Austrian Committee revived—Memoirs of Madame de la Motte—The King's Household Troops reduced—Seditious Scenes in the Gardens of the Tuileries—Divisions in the Council—Decree for an Army of Twenty Thousand Men—Views of the Jacobins—Observations of Camille Desmoulins—King negatives the Decrees—Roland dismissed—Dumourier resigns—M. La Fayette writes*

*writes to the National Assembly—Appears at the Bar—  
A Project for the Escape of the Royal Family—Reflec-  
tions on the Behaviour of the King, Queen, and Princess-  
Elizabeth.*

p. 457

A  
VIEW  
OF THE  
CAUSES AND PROGRESS  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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CHAPTER XV.

*Daring Conduct of Mirabeau—The Rabble arrive at Versailles—A Deputation of Poissards accompany that of the National Assembly to the King—He gives a conciliatory Answer to the former, and the same Night assents to the Decrees of the Assembly—M. La Fayette, with the Parisian Army, arrives at Midnight—The Court, the Deputies, and M. La Fayette, retire to Rest—The*  
• VOL. II.                      B                      • Palace

*Palace unexpectedly attacked in the Morning—Various Scenes of Horror—Insolence of the Rabble—Magnanimous Behaviour of the Queen—The Royal Family carried to Paris—Reception there.*

THE King having postponed his assent to the decrees, which had passed in the National Assembly, and had been presented to him by M. Mounier their President, the Assembly became more and more impatient on account of this delay. Nothing is a surer indication of weakness, in every sense of the word, than betraying symptoms of hesitation and unwillingness to do what is exacted of us, and what it is clear we must do after all. The hesitation of the Court in the present instance injured their cause in various ways. It disposed the public to give credit to those who were continually asserting, that the King considered his interest as

6

opposite

opposite to that of the People; and it provoked some of the Deputies to a petulance of language inconsistent with the respect due to the King. “ Il me semble,” said Mirabeau, “ qu’on pourroit faire au Roi une adresse, dans laquelle on lui parleroit avec cette franchise et cette vérité, qu’un fou de Philippe mettoit dans ces paroles triviales : *Que ferois-tu, Philippe, si tout le monde disoit non quand tu dis oui\** ?”

In the course of the same debate, Petion declaimed against the transactions at the entertainment of the Life Guards, which was the first time that any notice had been taken of it in the Assembly; and he asserted, that many things had occurred at that entertain-

\* It appears to me, that in an address to the King it would not be improper to speak with the same frankness and truth that the court fool of Philip conveyed in this sentence : “ What would you do, Philip, if all the world said No when you said Yes ?”

ment of a highly criminal nature : on which M. Monspay observed, that vague insinuations ought not to be regarded ; that Petion was therefore bound to mention the names of the guilty persons, reduce his accusation to writing, and to sign it. To this Petion made no answer ; but it was generally understood that the Queen and the Duke de Guiche, Colonel of the Life Guards, were the persons whom he had chiefly in view.

As Petion seemed to shrink from this challenge, Mirabeau rose and said, " Je commence par déclarer que je regarde comme souverainement impolitique la dénonciation qui vient d'être provoquée : cependant, si on persiste à la demander, je suis prêt, moi, à fournir tous les détails et à les signer ; mais auparavant, je demande que cette Assemblée déclare que la personne du Roi est *seule* inviolable ; et que tous les  
autres

autres individus de l'Etat, quels qu'ils soient, sont également sujets et responsables devant la loi \*."

At the earnest request of M. Mounier the President, M. Monspay withdrew his motion, by which the agitation of a question was prevented which might have had the most fatal consequences. Mirabeau then moved, that the President, at the head of a deputation, should wait on the King with an expostulatory address, requesting him to give a *pure and simple* sanction to the articles of the Declaration of Rights and the Constitution which had been already

\* I begin by declaring, that I consider the defiance which has been made as highly imprudent ; but, if it is insisted on, I am ready to give a circumstantial account of the whole, and to sign it ; but previously I expect that this Assembly shall declare that the person of the King *alone* is inviolable ; and that all the other individuals in the State, whosoever they may be, are subject and responsible to law.



presented to him ; for the reply which the King had made was rather a comment on the articles than an explicit answer. Robespierre said, that so far from being an acceptance it was a censure.

The deputation was immediately decreed ; but before the members were appointed, the first tumultuous band that had left Paris, conducted by Maillard, arrived at Versailles. A detachment of the most furious of the Poissardes belonging to it marched directly to the National Assembly, and were on the point of forcing the Guards at the gate, when the Assembly *prudently* decreed, that they should be admitted.

Maillard gave a strong proof of the influence he had over those women. He prevailed on them to permit him to *speak* for them, and to restrain their tongues while he spoke. He said “ they had come to demand bread, of which there was a great scarcity at Paris, and this scarcity artificially brought

brought on by traitors. He added, that they had likewise come to punish the Gardes-du-Corps, who had offered an affront to the patriotic cockade ; that it was criminal to wear any other ; and that he would shew the Assembly how both the black cockades and those who wore them ought to be treated." He then took a cockade of that colour, and tore it in pieces with every mark of indignation. His speech and action having excited some murmurs, " What," said he, " are we not all brethren ?" The President observed, that, notwithstanding their being all brethren, still it was unlawful to tear people in pieces merely for wearing cockades of a wrong colour.

By this time the patience of the women was quite exhausted. They could keep silence no longer ; but as they began their remonstrances all together, it was a considerable time before it could be distin-

guished that the grievance they chiefly insisted on was the scarcity of bread.

The President declared, that the Assembly were just going to deliberate on the speediest means of procuring it, and added that the ladies might withdraw.

Instead of taking this hint, however, the ladies seated themselves without ceremony on the benches with the Deputies. They did not listen to the debates with the same silence which they had preserved during Maillard's harangue; but took a degree of interest in them which must have been embarrassing to all, and peculiarly so to the orators whose discourse they disapproved. "Parle donc, Député!" they called to one; "Tais-toi, Député!" to another. Sometimes, instead of Député, they addressed the speakers whom they did not relish by appellations too vile to be mentioned.

In consequence of a decree which had  
passed

passed immediately before the arrival of the Poissardes, M. Mounier and fifteen Deputies went out of the hall. They were again to address the King to give a simple assent, unclogged with conditions, to the articles which had been presented to him on the 2d. As soon as the Poissardes understood this, a number of them insisted on accompanying the President to the King. M. Mounier, with some difficulty, prevailed on them to limit the number to six.

The deputation of the National Assembly, with their new associates, walked under a heavy shower of rain between two rows of an intermingled multitude of armed men and women, from the hall of the Assembly to the palace.

When they arrived at the gate, a band of Poissardes who followed, instead of adhering to the treaty, insisted that *twelve* of their number should enter the King's apartment with the President. This new requisition was

was complied with, as it must have been had they insisted upon a hundred.

The President being introduced, with the deputation from the Assembly, and the twelve representatives of the Poissarde army, made an affecting discourse to the King on the deplorable scarcity of provisions, and the confusion resulting from it in the capital. His Majesty replied in the same style, lamenting the distresses of the poor in such pathetic terms as charmed the Poissardes; and they withdrew in full confidence that his Majesty would do all in his power to remedy the evil of which they complained. But when they gave an account of this to their constituents without, they were accused of having been corrupted by the courtiers, threatened with the lantern, and ordered to return and obtain a written order from the King, for bringing supplies of grain from various quarters, and for removing all the obstacles which, they asserted, had

had been artificially created to starve the poor, and prevent Paris from being supplied with provisions. On their return, M. de St. Priest is said to have addressed them in these terms : “ Autrefois vous n’aviez qu’un Roi, et vous ne manquiez pas de pain ; aujourd’hui, que vous avez douze cents Rois, c’est à eux qu’il faut en demander \*.”

M. de St. Priest certainly meant to serve the King, by reminding the people that there was not such a scarcity of provisions under a single King as under a great many: but to those who are in want of daily bread it is dangerous to say any thing which conveys the idea, that Kings and scarcity are at all connected ; because they may come to draw the conclusion which the French populace were soon after taught, namely, that

\* Formerly you had only one King, and you were in no want of bread ; at present, when you have twelve hundred Kings, you must demand it from them.

Kings

Kings were great devourers of poor people's provisions ; and that, as the people were better provided under one King than under many, they would fare still better if they had no King at all to provide for.

When M. Mirabeau accused M. St. Priest afterwards in the Assembly on account of this speech, he denied that he had ever made it. But, however that may be, M. de St. Priest delivered to the Poissardes a paper signed by the King to the effect required, which satisfied those who sent them. Although nothing seems more absurd than to suppose that any measures had been taken by the King or his Ministers to occasion an artificial famine, or to prevent the capital from being supplied with provisions, yet such assertions were often made by the seditious, and as often believed by the ignorant.

During those transactions the rabble before the outer gates of the palace, endeavouring

vouring to force themselves into the great Court, were repulsed by the Gardes-du-Corps; and one of them, who happened to be an inhabitant of Versailles, being wounded, the National Guards of that town fired on the Body Guards, and the most fatal consequences seemed on the point of taking place, but were fortunately prevented before any person was killed on either side.

M. Mounier had addressed the King on the scarcity of provisions only, while the Poissardes remained; but when they were withdrawn, he presented the Articles of the Constitution for the King's acceptance: but so great was his reluctance, that he allowed M. Mounier to remain in attendance from six in the evening till near ten, being during all this interval balancing whether he should sanction them in the manner required by the Assembly, or not; and then ordering the President into his presence, he,  
with



with a very bad grace, gave his simple assent, as was exacted from the beginning.

Although there was an elegance and dignity in the manners of Charles I. of Great Britain, of which those of Lewis XVI. were entirely devoid ; and although their characters were different in many other respects ; yet the conduct of the latter on the present occasion has a striking resemblance to that of the former when the *Petition of Right* was presented to him by the Commons. After using various methods to turn the Commons from their intention, which only confirmed them more steadily in it, Charles strove to elude the petition by vague and indeterminate answers, instead of gracefully complying with it or courageously rejecting it at once ; and, after sundry attempts at evasion, he was at last reduced to answer the petition in the usual concise and clear form by which a bill is confirmed.

M. Mounier

M. Mounier having returned to the hall, and most of the Deputies being tired with so long and so turbulent a sitting, retired to their apartments. They were soon disturbed, however, and recalled to the Assembly, on the arrival of M. La Fayette and the Parisian army.

Whatever alarm an expedition, the object of which they knew not, might occasion in the breasts of the Deputies, it was soon removed by the conduct of M. La Fayette, who, after having waited on the King, presented himself to the National Assembly with every appearance of respect and submission. He lamented to M. Mounier the disorders and jealousies which had obliged him to march at the head of the National Guards to Versailles ; expressing at the same time his hope and belief, that an apology from the Gardes-du-Corps, and their adoption of the National cockade, would produce

an oblivion of the past and a good understanding in future.

It was midnight when the Parisian army arrived at Versailles. The weather was cold; and it continued to rain with violence. The soldiers took refuge in taverns, coffee-houses, under porticos, wherever they could rest, and find shelter. Refreshments were distributed among them; and an appearance of good humour inspired hopes that all danger of tumult was over for that night at least.

When M. La Fayette perceived this, he returned to the palace, and gave such an account of this apparent tranquillity, that the King and Queen retired to rest. Having appointed different guards, and placed sentinels where he judged it necessary, M. La Fayette again entered the National Assembly, and gave M. Mounier the same assurances that he had given the King. Notwithstanding the great need that the President  
of

of the Assembly, after so very distressing a sitting of eighteen hours, must have had of repose, he told M. La Fayette, that if he had any fear of tumults in the night, he was ready to remain in the hall, and to persuade his brother Deputies to do the same, that they might unite their efforts with his for the preservation of peace.

La Fayette answered, that, having already given the necessary directions, he was so convinced of the general pacific disposition, that he was himself going to take a few hours rest.

It has been asserted by M. La Fayette's enemies, that he *affected* to retire to rest, knowing that the palace was to be attacked, that he might not be thought to have any part in the horrid attempt which took place during his absence. But whatever blame he may be charged with for not taking more effectual means for guarding the palace, or for giving way to

the desire of rest at such a period, the excessive fatigues both of mind and body which he had undergone, precludes the suspicion of affectation ; and his conduct from the moment he was awaked, as well as his general behaviour and character through life, must satisfy the candid and impartial, that the accusation is unjust, and that he had not the least notion when he retired that the castle would be attacked.

Notwithstanding some scenes of confusion which no activity could prevent, the manner in which he suppressed the great insurrection in the Champ de Mars on the 17th of the following July, and the state of tranquillity in which Paris was kept during the whole time that M. La Fayette had the command of the National Guards, compared with the horrid scenes that were acted there after it was entrusted to others, afford reason to believe that it would have been fortunate for the Royal Family, and for  
France,

France, that he had been continued in that command ; in which case the insurrection of the 10th of August would not have happened ; or, if it had, the issue would probably have been different, and the massacres in September would certainly have been prevented.

M. La Fayette retired to rest about three or four in the morning ; and, at about six, different groups of the rabble of both sexes, who had left Paris the preceding day, and had been spending the night in drinking, met near the palace. It was evident that M. La Fayette's orders were ill obeyed. The external courts were unguarded in several places. It was proposed by some of this united band of ruffians to attack the Gardes-du-Corps, who were few in number. This was no sooner proposed than executed. Without meeting with any resistance from the National Militia of Versailles, those wretches rushed furiously across the courts,

crying, "Tuez les Gardes-du-Corps, point de quartier." Two of those gallant men were killed, others wounded and driven within the palace. One party of the assailants, with horrid threats and imprecations, attempted to force their way into the apartments of the Queen. M. de Miomandre, having given the alarm to those in the inner chamber that the Queen's life was in danger, opposed the entrance of the murderers with heroic gallantry, until he fell covered with honourable wounds.

Two wretches, dressed like Poissardes and armed with pikes, stepping over his body, rushed into the Queen's bed chamber. They expressed redoubled rage on finding that she had escaped.

The terrified Princess had run half naked into the King's chamber. He on his part had at the first alarm hastened to hers by another passage; and some of the attendants, anxious for the life of the Dauphin,

phin, had run and fetched him from the children's apartment; and when the King returned to his own chamber, he found the young Prince in the arms of his mother.

The Marquis de la Fayette, whose lodgings were in the town at some distance from the palace, as soon as he was informed that it was attacked, started from his bed, mounted his horse, and having summoned a company of grenadiers, many of whom had formerly belonged to the Gardes Françaises, and were now incorporated with the National Troops, conjured them to accompany him to the palace, and save the Royal Family from assassination, and the French name from lasting infamy. They arrived as the ruffians were attempting to force the King's apartment.

The first thought that occurred to the humane mind of the King, after finding his own family protected, was to save the Body



Guards, who were pursued and searched for with sanguinary fury by the assassins. He recommended them in the most earnest terms to M. La Fayette and his grenadiers. Fifteen of the Gardes-du-Corps, who had opposed the first entrance of the mob into the palace, having been surrounded and overpowered, were still in the hands of those savages, who were preparing to put them to death at the bottom of the grand staircase. "Grenadiers," cried La Fayette to his soldiers, "souffrirez-vous donc que de braves gens soient ainsi lâchement assassinés \* ?"

The Gardes-du-Corps, under the protection of the Grenadiers, were immediately conducted into the palace, while La Fayette endeavoured to soothe and mollify the populace.

\* Grenadiers, will you then suffer those brave men to be assassinated in that cowardly manner ?

Eight

Eight other gentlemen of the Gardes-du-Corps, mostly old officers, having been driven from the palace, were concealed in one room in the town. A party of the most profligate of the Paris mob were informed where they were, seized them, and conducted them back on purpose to put them to death directly under the King's windows; in which avowed design they were not opposed by the Militia of Versailles. One of the prisoners, an old officer with gray hairs, addressing the multitude, said : " Nôtre vie est entre vos mains ; vous pouvez nous égorger ; mais vous ne l'abrégerez que de quelques instans ; et nous ne mourrons pas deshonorés \*."

An officer of the Parisian National Guards, struck with this short address, and the un-

\* Our lives are in your power ; you may murder us ; but that will abridge our lives but a short time ; and we shall not die dishonoured.

daunted military looks of the prisoners, burst through the crowd, threw his arms around the venerable officer's neck, and cried, " Non, nous n'égorgerons pas de braves gens comme vous \*."

Those who hitherto had been passive spectators, and would have continued so to the consummation of the intended wickedness, affected by the words and fired by the example of the Parisian officer, immediately joined their efforts to his, and saved the gentlemen from the swords of those murderers.

As soon as M. Mounier heard of these transactions, he hastened to the National Assembly, and made a proposal, which was supported by other Deputies, that the National Assembly should be immediately transferred to the grand saloon of the palace, that they might at once assist his Majesty

\* No, we will not put to death brave men like you.  
with

with their advice, and contribute to his protection at such an alarming crisis. But Mirabeau exclaimed, " Je m'y oppose ; il n'est pas de nôtre dignité, il n'est pas même sage, de déserter nôtre poste, au moment où des dangers *imaginaires* ou réels semblent menacer la chose publique \*."

At a time when all the Assembly must have known that armed ruffians had assaulted the palace, murdered the guards, and forced their way into the royal apartments, to talk of dignity, and express doubts of the reality of the King's danger, required all that unshaken effrontery which Mirabeau possessed. No part of his conduct exposes him to the suspicion of being connected in some degree with the insurrection, so much as this. The most dignified conduct the Assembly could have followed would have been to

\* It is unbecoming our dignity, it is even unwise, for us to desert our post at a moment when real or imaginary dangers seem to threaten the public.

have

have adopted the generous proposal of their President.

The King's mind was greatly affected with the death of the guards who had fallen in his defence ; and, notwithstanding all the assurances of M. La Fayette, while he walked through his palace accompanied and protected by the General, he was making continual enquiries respecting the Gardes-du-Corps ; and his anxiety carried him so far at last, that he appeared at the balcony, assuring the crowd below, that they had been unjustly accused, and even interceding in their favour.

Some of the populace calling out for the Queen, she appeared at the balcony with the Dauphin and the Princess Royal at her side.

No tyrant, giddy with the plenitude of power, ever pushed the wantonness of despotism to a more disgusting length than the wretches who filled the courts below. Instead of being moved at this mark of condescension,

descension, some of the barbarians called out " Point d'enfans !" No construction could be put on such an exclamation, at such a moment, but that it was thought that the Queen had brought the children as a protection to herself, and that the wretches intended to fire at her when they were removed. It was most natural for the Queen herself to think so, because she had been frequently told that their curses and threats had been particularly directed against her.

Unmoved by this reflection, she made the children withdraw, and instantly turning to the multitude she stood alone, upright, and undaunted.

Struck with admiration of her majestic appearance and intrepid behaviour, the most barbarous for a moment forgot their rancour, and joined in the repeated shouts of applause that burst from all quarters, in the midst of which the Queen retired.

Some time after the Queen had disappeared,

peared, those who directed the movements of the multitude resumed the great object of this expedition. Voices were heard exclaiming *Le Roi à Paris !* The voices multiplied every moment ; and at last the cries of *A Paris ! à Paris !* were universal.

The King had no choice left. It would not have been in the power of M. La Fayette himself, perhaps, to have saved the lives of the Royal Family, had he refused. He declared his intention, therefore, of going that very day to Paris with his family ; and his intentions being notified to the crowd, by notes and cards thrown from the windows of the palace, were received by the people with their usual noisy indications of joy.

As soon as it was announced in the National Assembly, that the King was disposed to go to Paris, Mirabeau said, “ Je pense que nous devons être rapprochés du Monarque, pour l'accélération de nôtre ouvrage.

Je

Je demande qu'il soit décrété, que le Roi et l'Assemblée Nationale seront inséparables pendant la présente session \*."

This was unanimously agreed to; and it was decreed at the same time, that a deputation of one hundred members of the National Assembly should accompany the King to the capital.

Of all the disagreeable circumstances which counterbalance the joys of sovereignty, and we are told there are a great many, none are more revolting to an ingenuous mind than the sacrifices which Kings are thought to be under the necessity of making to policy and what are called reasons of state.

In the answer which the King made to

\* I am of opinion that we ought to be always near the person of the Monarch, for the acceleration of the public business. I propose that it be decreed, that the King and the National Assembly shall be inseparable during the present session.

the



the deputation sent to him with the above decree, are the following expressions : “ Je reçois avec une vive sensibilité les nouveaux témoignages de l’attachement de l’Assemblée ; le vœu de mon cœur est de ne jamais me séparer d’elle,” &c.\*

After the fatigue and agonies of such a night, the Royal Family certainly were much in need of an interval of repose ; but they were destined to undergo some very painful hours before they obtained it.

The multitude which surrounded the palace of Versailles began to manifest symptoms of ill humour at the delay of the King’s journey. Every consideration for the unfortunate family was sacrificed to the impatience of the Poissardes and their savage paramours.

The Royal Family left Versailles a little

\* I have the most lively sense of this fresh testimony of the Assembly’s attachment : the earnest wish of my heart is never to be separated from it.

after one o'clock, which was announced by a volley from the troops. The company of the Hundred Swiss surrounded the King's coach ; a troop of dragoons preceded, and another immediately followed it. The Parisian National Guards had begun their march a short time before. Various bands of the Poissardes were intermingled with all the different corps of this strange army—some seated in waggons, ornamented with green boughs, and white, red, and blue ribbons—some astride upon the cannon—many on horseback ; generally two on the same horse, with the hats of the Gardes-du-Corps on their heads, the belts across their shoulders, and armed with sabres—rending the air every instant with their savage shouts and the choruses of their vile songs. In the middle of one band of those sanguinary hags, two men carried long pikes, on the points of which were the heads of the murdered Gardes-du-Corps.

At certain distances the whole procession was made to halt, for the purpose of firing fresh volleys, and that the soldiers might be refreshed with wine and a little rest. On those occasions the Poissardes on the carriages and on horseback descended and joined hands in horrid dances around the bloody heads that were fixed on the pikes. What rendered the scene completely shocking was the presence of the Gardes-du-Corps who had been saved by the grenadiers, and were now marched in triumph, disarmed, and in sight of the heads of their murdered companions. These scenes of savage mirth were repeated at intervals during the journey, which lasted from a little after one till seven in the evening, about which time the Royal Family arrived at Paris.

The town was illuminated. The King was received with shouts and other demonstrations of joy, which, he was told, proceeded entirely from the overflowing loyalty

alty of the inhabitants. As the procession moved to the Hotel de Ville, the exclamations of *Vive le Roi!* resounded from all sides; but the unfortunate Monarch was sufficiently acquainted with the value of such exclamations. On entering the hall of the Town-house, where a throne was prepared for his reception, a very dutiful speech was pronounced to him by one of the Presidents of the Common Council. The King, no doubt, was also acquainted at this time with the value of such dutiful speeches; and the reliance he put in the professions of loyalty which he heard was probably in exact proportion to the sincerity with which they were pronounced.

The Queen was present at all this; and one remarkable proof of her presence of mind in the midst of scenes which might have disturbed even men of courage and firmness of character, was taken notice of, namely, that when the Mayor was repeat-

ing to those around him what the King had said to him on his entering Paris, he happened to forget a sentence which the King had pronounced; the Queen, overhearing this, instantly corrected him, and put him in mind of the omission.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Reflections on French and British Loyalty—  
Anecdote regarding the Duke of Orleans—  
Reflections on his Character and the Part he  
took in the Revolution—On the Conduct and  
Views of Mirabeau—Expressions of four  
Persons in a Tavern at Seve—Dismal State  
of the Royal Family on their Arrival at the  
Tuileries.*

THE French have been thought to possess such an affectionate and respectful attachment to their Monarchs, as rendered them by much the most loyal nation in Europe. No man was more of that opinion than the author of this narrative. The events of the present dreadful revolution afford cause of suspicion that this was at no time the case in *reality* so much as it was in *appearance*.

It will be still acknowledged, however,

that no people ever displayed more attachment to the person, or more zeal for the glory, of their Monarchs, whether they were of worthless characters like Henry III. or of benevolent ones like Lewis XVI. than the French have always done, as long as the Monarch has had the address or good fortune to retain his power. While the power of the Prince flourishes, the loyalty of the subject shines green as the laurel, and stands firm as a rock ; but, when his power is in decay, their loyalty withers with it, and shakes like the poplar leaf.

The people of England have been accused by their neighbours of possessing but a very moderate portion of loyalty ; and what little they have is said to be of a very cold and phlegmatic nature. James II. however was one of the most unpopular Princes that ever sat on their throne: he provoked them to the highest degree, by perfidious designs against their liberty, and open attacks on  
 3 their

their religion : yet when the sunshine of his prosperity was overcast with the blackest clouds of adversity ; when his favourites, his relations, his very children, forsook him ; and when, endeavouring to fly from the storm, he was stopped at Feversham, and brought back a prisoner to his capital ; how was this ungracious King, thus overwhelmed with calamity, received by the English people ? They were so much moved with compassion for his unhappy fate, so much affected with the sight of distressed royalty, that they forgot the King's misconduct by contemplating his misfortunes ; the excess of his misery operated in his favour as if it had been virtue ; and the dying embers of loyalty began to revive within their breasts, and to glow with more fervour than ever. This alarmed the Prince of Orange ; for although he could have formed no idea of such sensibility from any feelings of his own, yet the sympathy of the English nation did



not escape his discernment: he began to dread that compassion for their unfortunate Monarch would cool their gratitude to himself. He therefore immediately opened every door and port which could have opposed James's withdrawing from the kingdom, and made use of every art that could induce the infatuated Monarch to adopt that measure. Such was the impression which the misfortunes of James made on the hearts of the inhabitants of the southern part of this island. As for those of the north, so far was the attachment of his friends there from depending on his prosperity, that their steady, though ill-placed, loyalty never was more firm; nor were they ever more ready to shed their blood in his cause and that of his posterity, than after they were wretched exiles abandoned by all the rest of the world.

As there is much reason to believe, that the insurrection at Paris was begun by a set of wretches hired for the purpose; and as

none

none of the democratic party had the means of so extensive a bribery except the Duke of Orleans, it is pretty generally supposed that he was the first mover of the whole; and that he acted in conjunction with Mirabeau. Whatever truth there may be in the first supposition, there is great reason to think the second is ill founded.

Some time previous to the month of October, a Secret Committee, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, Messrs. Mirabeau, La Clos\*, L'Abbé Sieyes, La Touche Treville, met at the village of Monrouge near Paris, and agreed on a scheme for placing the Duke of Orleans in such a distinguished situation

\* M. La Clos was an officer of artillery, of eminence in his profession, and still more distinguished for his wit. He is author of a romance entitled "*Les Liaisons Dangereuses*," written with great spirit, but in which the profligate manners of the French are painted with a glow which offends modesty. This performance acquired to him the patronage of the Duke of Orleans.

in the government, that, by the assistance of his fortune and under the influence of his name, this junto would have the command of the mob of Paris, and a decisive weight in the National Assembly.

At the critical period after the taking of the Bastile, but before the King had yielded to the urgent and frequent remonstrances of the National Assembly for dismissing his new Ministers, and ordering the troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Paris, Mirabeau thought *that* a fortunate moment for the Duke to obtain the situation which he wished to see him placed in.

The Duke being then at Versailles, Mirabeau stated to him the alarm under which the Ministers and the whole Court were, on account of the uncertain state of events at Paris, the signs of defection in the troops, and other circumstances which rendered it probable that nothing he could ask would be refused; and persuaded him to go directly

rectly and demand an audience of the King, to offer his services for the restoration of the public tranquillity, and to request at the same time that he himself might be appointed *Lieutenant General of the Kingdom*.

When Orleans entered the castle of Versailles, there was every appearance of alarm and confusion. Exaggerated accounts had been just received of scenes of bloodshed at Paris: the ladies of the court were crossing the apartments in tears—some recommending themselves to the protection of the officers, who were hurrying out with orders, or returning with fresh rumours of the transactions in the capital. The Cabinet Council was sitting, without being able to decide what measures should be adopted. The Duke of Orleans waited till it broke up. The terror which appeared in every countenance, and which spread like a contagion, at length seized his own breast. It ought,

no doubt, to have had a contrary effect : the confusion and dismay which he observed around him ought to have rendered him more serene, and confirmed him in his purpose ; since they increased the probability that all his demands would be granted : but men under the influence of fear cannot reason. Ignorant of what the Council had resolved on, dreading what they might possibly do if provoked, the Duke accosted the King with a beating heart, and was quite disconcerted when the Monarch demanded what his business was. Conscious guilt, and an instantaneous pang for the injuries he meditated against the person he addressed, probably added to his confusion. Afraid to utter what he had been instructed to say, and under the necessity of saying something, he asked permission to make a journey to England, in case the present disturbances should increase.

Nothing

Nothing could surpass the indignation with which Mirabeau heard of the result of an affair on which he had founded some ambitious hopes ;\* and he hardly ever after mentioned the Duke of Orleans but in terms full of contempt. What could tempt the Duke of Orleans to take any part in a revolution, where he had so much to lose and so little to gain, seems difficult to account for. His situation, in point of rank and fortune, was infinitely superior to that which any talent, quality, or claim he possessed, except that of birth, could ever have raised him to. The idea of ranking men according to their intrinsic value, and removing artificial distinctions, ought to have appeared as dreadful to him as it does to thousands all over Europe, who sicken and tremble at the thought, from consciousness that it would preclude every mark of respect that is now shewn them. A fit of childish ill-humour at the Court rendered him the tool of a few men  
devoid

devoid of principle but endowed with talents, whom he expected to govern, and who he imagined would continue as obsequious and subordinate to him through all the mazes and confusions of a revolution as they were in times of tranquillity. He did not consider, that although the former are often the harvests of wicked men, yet it is only of wicked men of intrepidity and talents. He did not consider, that it is only in times of order that men of mediocrity retain pre-eminence, and that genius bends before it. The delusions of self-love must have strangely obscured the penetration of the Duke of Orleans to hinder him from seeing this. No man in France was more interested than he was to prevent the progress of the Revolution. The very name of *Egalité* ought to have sounded ominous and harsh to his ears as the croaking of ten thousand ravens; and so it would have done, had it not been for the delusive self-love already

ready

ready mentioned, and that thoughtless levity which belonged to his character, and seems to have run through his race.

Among those from whom he was descended, and who bore the same name, there was not one of an elevated or even of a steady character: weakness and frivolity seem to have pervaded the whole family, with the exception of one; and he, by the profligacy of his manners, dishonoured a great share of good nature, and another quality, which is not always united with good nature, namely a very brilliant wit. M. Egalité has been thought to have inherited all the qualities of his ancestors, without excepting a certain portion of the last.

Was it a love of popularity that allured this unhappy man into the vortex of the Revolution? No man living, perhaps, ever despised public opinion more than the Duke of Orleans: and he paid the usual tax imposed on that kind of contempt; for no man  
of



of his rank and riches was ever more despised by the public.

A little before the Revolution, it is true, he began to alter his conduct, and give some indications of an inclination to acquire popularity. During a dearth he ordered distributions of bread to be made among the people, and relieved the inhabitants of the towns and the peasantry of his lands from certain oppressive rights to which he had a claim. This very conduct might have rendered him suspected; for we do not find those sudden changes in the characters of men in real life, that are often to be met with among the personæ dramatis. A vicious man does not become virtuous in an instant. When one of such a character, therefore, is suddenly seized with a fit of ostentatious benevolence, it may justly create a suspicion that it is for some ill purpose.

The applause, however, which the Duke of Orleans received on this occasion, seemed

to confirm his new taste for popularity, and encouraged him to make the famous protest for which he was for a short time exiled from court, and obliged to live on one of his estates. The resentment against the King on this account, and against the Queen on account of her dislike of him, which she took no pains to conceal, was carefully kept up by men who had an interest in his continuing in opposition to the Court; and those men, assisted by his own levity of character and his affectation of English manners, inspired him with a taste for politics for which he had no natural turn, and gradually led him from one step to another into measures as contrary to his own interest as to that of the Court.

The procession that was made through the streets of Paris in the preceding July of his bust, had probably contributed to render his head more giddy than usual, and more ready to follow the counsel of those who urged

urged him to promote, by his emissaries and money, the insurrection which carried the Parisian army to Versailles, for the purpose of either forcing the King to fly out of the kingdom, or of obliging him, and of course the National Assembly, to reside at Paris ; by which the Duke expected that his own influence would be augmented, and the power of the Crown reduced, so as to secure himself from the fate he had reason to expect, if it should ever recover its ancient vigour.

But that he had formed any plan for the assassination of the King is not to be credited : 1st, Because the researches made by the Court of Chatelet, which shewed sufficient zeal for finding matter of condemnation against him, made no such discovery. 2d, Because, to have placed the Duke of Orleans on the throne, the death not only of the King and Dauphin, and Monsieur the King's eldest brother, was necessary, but also

also the proscription of the Comte d'Artois, and his sons; which supposes a degree of atrocity beyond the wickedness of the Duke of Orleans, wicked as he was; for although that species of profligacy which belonged to the Duke of Orleans' character makes a man liable to have every kind of wickedness readily believed of him, yet it may be unconnected with any cruelty of disposition. His voting for the King's death is given as a proof of his cruelty; but there is reason to think that he was terrified into it, and that it is only a proof of his want of courage. 3dly, Because those wretches who burst into the Queen's bed-chamber directed their threats and their attempts against her, and not the King; which, on the supposition that the insurrection had been raised with a view of placing the Duke of Orleans on the throne, they would have done.

Beside, although the Duke himself was a man likely to be seduced into schemes for

which he had neither taste nor talents, yet he was devoid of that daring ambition which excites to hazardous crimes, *regnandi gratiâ*; for all his ideas were grovelling, and all his pleasures sensual.

On the whole, it is most probable that he was prompted to lavish his money in raising this insurrection by a few men at this time in his confidence, with a view to disconcert the measures of the Court; while their grand object was to have their patron placed in some situation of great influence in the government, not for his own sake, but that through him they might obtain lucrative offices.

With respect to Mirabeau, it is evident that he did not act in concert with the Duke of Orleans; and it does not appear that he had any hand in exciting the insurrection: but he certainly endeavoured to turn it to his own purposes when excited, by promoting the removal of the King and  
National

National Assembly to Paris, where he expected, from the efforts of his own genius, to acquire a degree of importance superior to what he could expect from the patronage of the Duke of Orleans, by rendering his influence in the National Assembly, and of course his weight with the Court, greater than it was while they remained at Versailles. He preferred a monarchy to a republic—but such a monarchy as should leave the King in a great measure dependent on men of talents and popularity, being convinced that he himself possessed more of both than any member of the Assembly. He acted, however, sometimes in concert with men who were inclined to a republic, and whose schemes he would probably have rendered abortive if he had lived.

But, although neither the Duke of Orleans nor those who had the management of him had made the assassination of the King or Queen an article in this insurrec-

tion and conspiracy, they could not be ignorant that their murder might have been the consequence. The calumnies and misrepresentations which had been circulated to excite the multitude to go to Versailles, were of a nature to have carried some of the most fanatical or most furious of the mob beyond the letter of their instructions ; and there can be little doubt but that those who murdered the Gardes-du-Corps at the door of the Queen's apartment, and forced into her bed-chamber, intended her destruction ; and if the King had been found with her, they would both in all probability have met with the same fate. Therefore all the guilt which belongs to men who must have foreseen the possibility of such a horrid catastrophe, and took no means to prevent it, falls upon the first movers of this insurrection ; and that the murder both of the King and Queen was sometimes in the thoughts of some of the wretches employed in this expedition,

expedition, appears from the testimony of those who declared, that on the march to Versailles four persons, in the drefs of women, having stopped to drink at a tavern at Seve, one said to the others, “ Ma foi, je ne peux me refoudre à le tuer, lui ; cela n’eft pas juſte ; mais pour elle, volontiers : ” to which another was overheard to anfwer, “ Sauve qui peut, il faudra voir quand nous y ferons \*.”

The project of bringing the King to Paris had been taken up and executed in too sudden and rapid a manner to allow time for the Louvre, which had been long out of repair, to be decently fitted up for the reception of the Royal Family ; but the contrast between the meanest lodgings in Paris

\* On my conscience I cannot bring myself to think of killing *him* ; it would not be juſt ; but as for *her* I have no ſcruple.

Let them ſave themſelves who can ; we’ll ſee how things turn out when we get there.



and the magnificent apartments of Versailles, is not so great as that between the state of mind with which this unhappy family entered their new residence and what they had formerly been accustomed to enjoy. The Queen in particular must have felt this reverse, and all the horrors of the dreadful journey, with uncommon severity ; for her temper and turn of mind had rendered her enjoyment of the *present*, undisturbed by reflection on the *past* or fear of the *future*—

Lætus in præsens animus, quod ultra est

Oderit curare ; et amara lento

Temperet risu.

Sufferings to her were new ! Her morning and also her meridian way through life had been hitherto strewed with the softest and most fragrant rose leaves, among which hardly one little thorn had ever accidentally fallen.

From the King's first entrance within the  
precincts

precincts of the Louvre, his friends had forebodings of what has happened since. The walls of the Louvre have been like the towers of Julius,

With many a foul and midnight murder fed.

No wonder, therefore, that to the alarmed imagination of many friends of the Royal Family of France, treason, assassination, and other dreadful spectres seemed, in prophetic vision, to haunt that fatal building.

Vestibulum ante ipsum —————

Luclus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ :

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Terribiles visu formæ : Lethumque, Laborque :

Tum consanguineus Lethi Sopor, et mala mentis

Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum.

Although the King had agreed to go with his family to Paris, in consequence of the request of the multitude at a time when it would have been dangerous to have refused, he did not imagine that his constant

residence there was expected, or would have been exacted. On his first arrival, however, at the Hotel de Ville, he was requested to permit that assurances might be given to the people that he intended to fix his abode in the capital. To this he answered, that he had not come to *a final resolution* on that head. The unfortunate Monarch soon found, that those who had brought him had come to *a final resolution*; and he found it necessary to write a letter to the National Assembly, which began in the following terms :

“ MESSIEURS,

“ Les temoignages d'affection et de fidélité que j'ai recus des habitans de ma bonne ville de Paris, et les instances de la Commune, me determinent à y fixer mon sejour le plus habituel, &c.\*”

\* The proofs of affection and fidelity that I have received from the inhabitants of my good city of Paris, and the entreaties of the Municipality, have determined me to fix my most usual residence there.

Nothing

Nothing can be a stronger proof of the wretched state of controul under which the King was, than this letter ; and it is impossible to think, without indignation, of the triumphant derision with which those expressions of partiality for his *bonne ville de Paris* were read by his enemies.

As it had been already decreed, that the National Assembly and the King were inseparable during the present session, it followed of course that, if he remained at Paris, the Assembly must remove there also ; but some members, foreseeing the consequences, objected to this removal, and gave for their reasons that the Deputies would be under the controul of the populace, and in danger of being insulted by them. This argument could have little effect, however ; because it was on that very account that those who had most influence with the Assembly wished it to be fixed in the capital.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Some principal Members of the National Assembly retire—The Royal Family lodge in the Palace of the Tuileries—The Duke of Orleans goes to England—Scarcity—A Baker murdered—Decrees for the Suppression of Insurrections—Roberspierre opposes them—Plan for General Election every two Years—Reflections.*

**M.** MALOUE, perceiving that the Assembly would at last agree to the King's being removed to Paris, proposed, that the decree which rendered the persons of the Deputies inviolable should be renewed and enforced. M. Malouet's meaning was to shew to the whole nation, that he considered the National Representatives would be in more danger and less independent in the capital than where they had hitherto

ther to assembled ; and he imagined that, by a renewal of the decree, and turning the eyes of the nation on the danger he dreaded, he would render it less than it would otherwise be.

Mirabeau opposed this as unnecessary, because there was a decree to that purpose already ; and he added an assertion which the subsequent events of the Revolution have not confirmed—namely, that “ their characters were so sacred, that the most unworthy among them, if any of them could be conceived to be unworthy, would be so protected, that no assailant would ever be able to reach them, without passing over the dead bodies of many virtuous men, ready to shed their blood in their defence.”

While the Assembly were debating on this subject, a deputation from the *Commune* of Paris entered ; and Brissot, who at that time belonged to it, pronounced a discourse expressive of the joy of the capital in the  
 expect-

expectation of receiving the National Assembly within her bosom ; and assuring them of personal protection and the enjoyment of the utmost freedom of debate ; for that the Commune of Paris were filled with sentiments of respect for the National Assembly, and desirous of opportunities of shewing their obedience to it. Those assurances of the Commune were afterwards made good in the same manner as the assertion of Mirabeau.

There is little doubt but that Brissot acted in concert with Mirabeau on this occasion ; for although the former was a republican, and the latter wished to preserve the monarchical form of government, in which he expected to have great weight, they both imagined that their different views would be promoted by the removal of the National Assembly as well as the King from Versailles to Paris.

The violence which had been used to the Royal Family, and the design of removing  
the

the Assembly to that very place in which the violence originated, disgusted M. Lally-Tolendal and M. Mounier so much, that, despairing of being of any service to their country as Deputies, they withdrew from the Assembly and retired to the provinces. Many other Deputies of less distinction followed their example. But M. Mounier did not announce his intention of retiring until he had made a motion for decreeing an order for an enquiry into the massacres committed on the 6th of October, and for prosecuting the authors. It will easily be believed, that many were displeased at any such investigation. It does honour to M. Mounier's character as a friend of justice and a man of firmness, and to the characters of those who supported his motion, that they persevered in spite of all opposition until it was carried ; which was the foundation of the subsequent proceedings of the Chatelet on the subject.

M. Malouet,



M. Malouet, however, and others who equally disapproved of the violent measure of removing the King from Versailles, thought it their duty to remain, in the hopes of obtaining for their country a Constitution as like to that of Great Britain as circumstances would admit, and equally free from the hopeless and gloomy tranquillity of despotism, and the execrable excesses of vulgar licentiousness.

While a hall was preparing for the reception of the Deputies at Paris, they had a few more sittings at Versailles, in which it was decreed that the right of proposing laws, as well as that of imposing taxes, belonged to the Assembly alone ; and the King's Ministers were declared responsible for whatever was transacted in their different departments.

These regulations seem of real importance in a free Constitution ; but they likewise decreed that the King's title of King of France should be changed into that of King of *the French* ; because it is more cor-

rect to call the Supreme Magistrate the Governor of Men than of the Country where they live. So much precision on such a subject, however, was more worthy of grammarians than of legislators. But should monarchy ever be established again in France, it would not be surprising that the Monarch, in contemplation of the monstrous deeds which have been lately perpetrated by French men, should rather choose to be called King of the country than of the inhabitants; and there can be little doubt but that the great personage who still possesses the title of King of France would infinitely rather renounce it for ever than live a single day among such subjects.

For a week at least after the Royal Family were lodged in the Tuileries, they were under the mortifying necessity of shewing themselves at the windows every day, and some days oftener than once, merely to satisfy the clamorous curiosity of the multitude.

titude. Even if this had proceeded from affection, the frequent repetition of such demands would have rendered them oppressive; but they were doubly so, as it was evident they came from those who expressed no attachment to the Royal Family, and wished only to enjoy the triumph of having obliged them to come to Paris.

M. La Fayette had for some time perceived that the National Guards were not so ready and cheerful in their obedience to his orders as formerly. On some occasions they had even manifested a tendency to mutiny; which was the more alarming at this time, as the rabble also were uncommonly tumultuous. The Duke of Orleans was strongly suspected of being the author of these excesses of the rabble, and the mutinous disposition of the National Guards. He was not more odious to the Court than to M. La Fayette, and would have been arrested, had it not been judged imprudent to

venture on so decisive a measure in the present circumstances. Another plan less likely to create popular commotion, but which it was thought would have all the good effect of arresting him, was adopted.

M. La Fayette waited on the Duke of Orleans, and abruptly informed him, that "it afforded matter of surprise that he had not gone to England, as he had some time before told the King was his intention ; that the public tranquillity did not admit his remaining longer in France ; that a passport was prepared for him ; and that the pretext for his journey might, if he pleased, be a private commission from his Majesty." Although the Duke seemed to have dropped all thoughts of this expedition, yet on this hint from M. La Fayette he immediately agreed to set out. There was probably something very powerful in M. La Fayette's *manner*, which convinced the Duke so suddenly of the expediency of this journey ; for in the

*expressions* he used there appears nothing very persuasive.

When M. de Montmorin announced to the National Assembly, that the King had given to the Duke of Orleans a commission to go to England; and that he only waited for a passport from the Assembly, it occasioned much surprise. Mirabeau spoke of it as a new species of *lettre de cachet* rather than a commission, and hinted at the imperious conduct of La Fayette, and the submission of the Duke, in terms which did no honour to the latter. The Assembly seem not to have been deceived by the pretext assigned by the Minister; yet the passport was granted, and the Duke departed.

The National Assembly were received by the inhabitants of Paris with demonstrations of joy. On the day of their first sitting, they were waited on by M. Bailly the Mayor and M. La Fayette, at the head of a deputation from the Municipality, with the  
congratulations

congratulations of the capital ; in return for which these two gentlemen were honoured by a vote of thanks from the Assembly for the services they had rendered the country.

Such symptoms of harmony and good humour were not of long continuance. The predictions of those members who had always foreseen the worst effects from their deliberating in the midst of an unrestrained multitude soon began to be verified. There was a certain degree of real scarcity of provisions ; but this was supposed to be augmented by artificial means, for the most wicked purposes. It was rumoured at one time, that there was a scheme for starving the people—an accusation absurd, it is true, but peculiarly calculated to inflame the rage of a multitude already suffering under the sensation of hunger, and to whom a full meal was at all times precarious.

It was spread abroad also, that there was a plot to poison them with unwholesome pro-

vifions ; in proof of which incredible affertion, fome men brought a number of facks of flour which they declared to be fpoiled, and emptied them into the Seine as near as poffible to the windows of the Tuileries. This was done with a view of infinuating to the multitude that the Court was connected with the confpiracy.

Every degree of wickednefs was to be expected from men who could invent fuch a fpecies of calumny, and every degree of abfurdity from thofe who were weak enough to believe it. At this time the Duke of Orleans was in England; and thofe who had excited the populace to go to Verfailles for the purpofe of obliging the Royal Family and the National Affembly to come to Paris, had obtained their end. It does not appear that the leaders of any political faction could have any intereft in fpredding thefe ftories, or creating the diforders which immediately followed; which feem

to have entirely proceeded from the absurd prejudices of the vulgar, and the inactivity, or rather the inability, of law. Had the Duke of Orleans been at Paris, however, it would probably have been said that he was the author of them, with a view to have the whole family massacred.

It will not seem surprising, that in such times individuals often pointed out the objects of their own private hatred and revenge as the enemies of the public, thereby to expose them to the fury of the rabble ; an affecting instance of which occurred in the case of a baker. A woman, instigated by personal malice, accused this man of being a monopolist, and prompted the mob to break into his house and search for bread. A few loaves were found, which were designed for his own family, and a greater number of little rolls bespoke by some members of the National Assembly, near which his bakehouse was. This appeared to the



rabble a full proof of the woman's accusation. He was dragged before the Committee sitting at the Hotel de Ville ; who were soon convinced of his innocence, from the answer he made to his accusers, and from the excellent character given of him by those of his neighbours who followed him to the Committee ; but, fearing to declare their real sentiments, they deputed three of their own members to inform the multitude, that the baker was to be carried before the Chatelet, to be tried according to law. So far from being satisfied with this, the rabble seized those Deputies, and threatened to hang them instead of the baker, if he was not immediately delivered up to them. The Committee, as a last means of saving the baker, proposed to interrogate the witnesses immediately, in the great hall, and in the hearing of the populace ; but when the unhappy man was conducting to the hall, he was torn from the Guards, murdered in the square

square of the Greve, and his head fixed on a pike was met by his young wife, three months gone with child, as she rushed through the crowd to lend her feeble aid to her husband.

A murder attended with so many aggravating circumstances, perpetrated in the presence of some of their own members, and almost at their own door, convinced the majority of the Assembly that their personal safety was interested in checking the excesses to which the Parisian populace were so prone, and for which the Assembly had hitherto shewn so much indulgence. The massacre of the King's Guards, and breaking into the Queen's apartment with the intention of serving her in the same manner, might, *for reasons of State*, be overlooked; but to murder a baker, and the very baker who furnished them with rolls, they seem to have thought a more serious affair, and to merit greater attention.

It was therefore proposed, that " the Magistrates should be authorised, on the appearance of a riot, to call the assistance of the military, and proclaim martial law; after which that a red flag should be displayed from the Town-house, as a signal that all assemblies of the populace, armed and unarmed, should be considered as criminal; and, in case they refused to disperse on being ordered by the Magistrate, that it should be declared to be his duty to order them to be fired upon; and that those who escaped should be afterwards liable to legal prosecution."

There were members of the Assembly who thought such a decree by much too severe. Robespierre in particular is said to have laid the foundation stone of his towering popularity on this occasion. He declared that " he saw many dangers which menaced liberty in the passing of this decree, which might be so easily turned against the

the

the most active patriots, and which evidently tended to raise the hopes of aristocrats, and to damp that glow of freedom which it was necessary to cherish in the breasts of the people. The disposition of the Parisians was in general excellent ;" he confessed that " he had a cordial affection for them, and could not see them threatened with any danger without shuddering. The good people of Paris," he said, (and what he said quickly flew from the galleries all over the town) " were very seldom in the wrong, always meant well, and could not be justly punished for the errors they might fall into, or the mistakes they might commit, when they were pinched with hunger. How venial were their errors when compared with the guilt of those who obstructed provisions, and created an artificial famine ! He expatiated on the wisdom of lenient measures towards the people, and of the dreadful consequences that might follow from employ-

employing a military force, by which many innocent and well-meaning people might be destroyed. He extolled as the first of virtues compassion to the poor and the worthy : for Roberspierre always used those two words, as well as their opposites, the rich and the worthless, as synonymous. He expressed a horror against bloodshed worthy of a Bramin ; and drew such an affecting picture of the slaughter of men, women, and children, by a fire from the soldiers, as brought tears from the eyes of some persons in the gallery ; while others affecting severer virtues and more profound political sagacity, shook their heads, and declared “ that, although Roberspierre might be a well-meaning patriot, he was by much too tender-hearted for a statesman.”

Roberspierre's eloquence, however, encouraged some of the districts to protest against the martial law, but did not prevent its being decreed in the Assembly, approved  
of

of by the Municipality, and supported by the National Guards ; which produced the happy effect of establishing order and quiet for some time.

The actual murderer of the baker was tried and executed, with another fellow who had attempted to excite the people to insurrection. The King and Queen testified their sympathy with the affliction of the baker's widow, in a consolatory message delivered to her by the Duke de Liancourt with a present of six thousand livres.

The new decree having produced an interval of order and tranquillity, the National Assembly applied itself with indefatigable diligence to public business. The political existence of the Noblesse and Clergy was extinguished by a laconic decree, expressing that *there was no longer any distinction of orders in France.*

The election of the Députés to the National Assembly was regulated according to  
a plan

a plan proposed by the Abbé Sieyès. In the first instance there was to be an election of Deputies in what were called the Primary Assemblies ; and, by a second election, those Deputies were to choose the members who were to represent the People in the National Assembly. A very slender qualification with respect to property entitled a man to vote in the first instance ; and very little more sufficed to give him a right to vote in the second.

The ancient division of the kingdom into provinces, all of which had their own particular parliaments and jurisdiction, and were all subdivided into governments, dioceses, and bailiwicks, according to the military, ecclesiastical, and judicial orders, was entirely abolished. Those divisions and subdivisions, with the particular privileges that had been annexed to some of them, had produced many prejudices, animosities, and jealousies, and were thought inconsistent with

with that equal and harmonious government which was intended to be formed in France. All privileges of every kind having been abolished, it was thought prudent to efface every trace of their having ever existed. According to the new plan, France was divided into eighty-three portions called Departments. The whole number of Deputies to the National Assembly was to be seven hundred and forty-five. To have decreed that the number of Deputies should depend on the extent of territory in each department would have been absurd; because a department may be as extensive as another, and have fewer inhabitants. To have made the number depend solely on the population would have rendered the government entirely democratic. And to have regulated the number of Deputies that each department should have the privilege of choosing, by the quantity of money raised by taxation, would have been opening a



door to the aristocracy of mere riches, more  
 fordid and odious than that of birth or title.  
 Instead of founding on any one of those prin-  
 ciples, it was thought that the deficiencies in  
 one would be compensated by the merit of  
 the others, and that the result of combining  
 the three would be the most perfect mode  
 of election for a Legislative Assembly, in  
 the same manner as the judicious mixture  
 of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy,  
 in the British Constitution, is thought to  
 exhibit the most perfect model of a free,  
 mild, and happy government.

The extent, population, and contribution  
 of the department were to be attended to,  
 therefore, in determining the number of  
 Representatives each was to send to the Na-  
 tional Assembly. As the extent of all the  
 eighty-three departments was nearly equal,  
 each was appointed to send three Deputies,  
 on that principle, the department of Paris  
 being excepted; which, on account of its  
 extent

extent being so much smaller than any of the others, was allowed to send only one. So that two hundred and forty-seven were elected on the principle of extent of territory, two hundred and forty-nine on that of population, and the same number on that of contribution ; amounting in all to the number decreed, namely seven hundred and forty-five : but the number of Deputies sent from each department in virtue of its population and contribution, was proportionate to the number of the inhabitants and to the taxes they paid. Had all the departments been equal as to those two articles, each would have sent nine Deputies, except that of Paris, which for the reason mentioned above would have sent seven only : but as there were great inequalities in those two articles, the number of Deputies sent from the different departments was also unequal—some sending only five, particularly the departments des Hautes-Alpes, de la Lo-

here, and des Pyrénées-Orientales; others only six; some seven; and so on every number to fifteen, the number sent by the department de Rhone-et-Loire and de la Seine-Inférieure; none of the rest sending so many, except the department of Paris, which, notwithstanding the deduction of two made from it on account of its small extent, sent on the whole twenty-four members, because of its vast population and contribution.

It was decreed that this Assembly should subsist two years; and a new one was to be always formed in the same manner at the end of the same period. In this plan, one of the wisest articles perhaps is that which excludes the Primary Assemblies from the right of directly choosing the Representatives of the Nation, and confines their privilege to that of naming the Electors of the Representatives; for although the lower classes in society are not supposed to be adequate judges  
of

of the qualities requisite for a member of the National Assembly, or to have opportunities of being acquainted with those who possess them, yet they are fully competent to know what men in their own districts are reputed men of integrity and good sense, and will of course be inclined to choose those as the properest for electing the National Representatives.

In the opinion of many, the French would have done well to have fixed on the British Constitution as the entire model of theirs. In the opinion of some, the British nation would do well to reform their representation in the House of Commons according to the French system of election. Those who are of the first opinion quote the happy and prosperous state of Great Britain: those who are of the second do not mention the present state of France as a corroboration of theirs.

Previous to the secession of M. Lally-

VOL. II.

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Tolendal

Tolendal and Mr. Mounier, there was some disposition in the Assembly to have modelled the French Constitution as nearly according to the British as possible. Perhaps pride or prejudice may have had some weight in preventing this idea from being adopted : if so, it is to be regretted. But that national pride, or something of a prejudice in favour of their own opinions, should have influenced the minds of Frenchmen, ought not greatly to surprise those worthy Englishmen, who are persuaded not only that their own form of government is the happiest effort of human genius, but also that it would, without the least variation, suit the inhabitants of every nation on earth, however different from themselves in manners, situation, and character.

That Great Britain has increased in power in a greater proportion than any other nation in Europe since the Revolution 1688 ; that its inhabitants have acquired

more wealth; that this wealth is more equally diffused, and that their persons and property are better protected and secured than those of the inhabitants of any other country, is known to all the world; that all those advantages were derived from that blessed portion of liberty which belongs to the British Constitution, and of which most other governments are devoid, has long been the opinion of many enlightened men in France, which they have been at great pains to render manifest, and to circulate among their countrymen. That exhilarating spirit of activity, enterprise, and ardour, which a love of freedom conveys to the heart of man, was felt by the whole French nation at the time of calling the States-General; but many of those elected as legislators, thinking they never could have too much of it, rashly intermingled such a quantity into their Constitution, that, instead of an invigorating cordial, it had

the most fiery, intoxicating, and destructive effects.

This observation, however, is not so applicable to the first Constituent Assembly as to the Assemblies which succeeded. In the first there were undoubtedly a greater number of men of distinguished talents and eminence, in every sense of the word, than in any of the others ; and although on some occasions, from a dread of the agents of despotism and a suspicion of the Court, they behaved with harshness to the King, yet it seems evident that the views and wishes of the majority were to give an equitable government to their country, by which both the Prince and People would have been gainers. That they were friends to monarchy, as well as to freedom, they gave the strongest proof, in re-instating the King and presenting him with the Constitution after his flight to Varennes, notwithstanding the cry which was raised for the *Decbéance*,  
and

and the attempts made by the republican party for oversetting the monarchy and establishing a republic at that time. But the second, or, as it is called, the Legislative Assembly acted in a very different manner from their predecessors. Although one of the greatest errors in the form of election of the Deputies was, that the qualification of the Electors in point of property was too small, which rendered the elections tumultuous, and accompanied with more of a republican spirit than, in the opinion of some, is consistent with a monarchical form of government however limited ; yet the Legislative Assembly could not trust that form of election, because they feared it was not sufficiently republican ; and therefore, after the 10th of August 1792, they decreed that in the election of members for the Convention it should be departed from, and that, instead of the small share of property formerly requisite to entitle any man to vote, all that



should be necessary was a year's residence in the department, and that he should be of the age at which the law presumes a capability of exercising personal rights: the consequence of which, and of other manœuvres that took place during the general election, was, that the most zealous republicans that were to be found in France were chosen members of the Convention, and monarchy was abolished *par acclamation* as soon as it met.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Decree respecting Bankrupts—Opinion of Mirabeau on that Subject—of the Duke of Rochefoucault—Abolition of Monasteries—for appropriating the Church Lands—Abolition of Titles—Reflections on that Subject, and on Armorial Bearings—Respect derived from Antiquity of Family—The Effect which the Creation of Peers has on it.*

NOTHING can give a higher idea of the assiduity with which the National Assembly applied to the business of the State, than the regulations they made within a very few months after the King's arrival in the capital. They abolished *lettres de cachet* ; suppressed the tax upon salt, so oppressive to the poor ; also that on tobacco,

not equally so, but still very grievous, since habit has rendered the use of that plant almost a necessary of life. Many other burdensome and impolitic taxes and impositions were either entirely suppressed, or regulated in a manner to render them less heavy on the lower orders in particular. A decree was passed, that all persons, whether professing the Roman Catholic religion or not, might be appointed to any office or employment; and the principle which attached infamy to the descendants of those who were executed for crimes was abolished.

Several new regulations respecting the fleet and army were made; and as it was thought of the greatest importance that the latter should be kept in good humour, their pay was considerably augmented. The abolition of all the privileges, separate laws, and particular rights, which  
had

had been long enjoyed by certain provinces, to the injury of the rest of the kingdom, was universally approved of by the impartial.

In the republic of Geneva, bankrupts are excluded from the Public Council, the Magistracy, or any office in the State: the children of bankrupts are by law subjected to the same penalty till such time as they pay their proportion of their father's debts. Montesquieu mentions this law in high terms of praise. Many who may have the same good opinion of this law that Montesquieu had, will still be surpris'd that *Mirabeau* should have recommended it. "In the present situation of France," said he, "des loix pareilles sont non seulement utiles mais indispensables. Vainement, Messieurs, vous avez aboli les privilèges et les ordres, si vous laissez subsister cette prérogative de fait qui dispense l'homme d'un certain

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tain rang de payer ses dettes ou celles de son père ; qui fait languir la commerce, et qui trop souvent dévoue l'industrie laborieuse de l'artisan et du boutiquier, à soutenir le luxe effréné, de ce que nous appellons si improprement *l'homme comme il faut*.

“ Laissons à cette nation voisine, dont la Constitution nous offre tant de vues sages, dont nous craignons de profiter, cette loi injuste, reste honteux de la féodalité, qui met à l'abri de toutes poursuites pour dettes le citoyen que la Nation appelle à la représenter dans son Parlement. Profitons de l'exemple des Anglois ; mais sachons éviter leurs erreurs ; et, au lieu de récompenser le désordre dans la conduite, éloignons de toute place dans les Assemblées, tant Nationales que Provinciales et Municipales, le citoyen qui, par une mauvaise administration de ses propres affaires, se montrera  
peu

peu capable de bien gérer celles du public \*."

The reader will be the less surprised at

\* Such laws are not only useful, but indispensably necessary. In vain have you decreed the abolition of privileges and distinctions, if men in any situation are still to be tolerated in refusing to pay their own debts or those of their father. This is hurtful to commerce, and too often obliges the laborious industry of the tradesman and shop-keeper to support the unbounded luxury of those improperly called good company.

Let us leave that neighbouring nation, whose Constitution presents us with so many wise regulations, which we are afraid to adopt, in possession of this unjust law, a remnant of feudal injustice, which protects the persons of Members of Parliament from arrest on account of debt. We may in many things profit by the example of the English ; but let us avoid their errors ; and, instead of rewarding extravagant and dissolute conduct, let us exclude from the National and Provincial Assemblies and the Magistracy, every man who, by the mismanagement of his own private concerns, shews that he is incapable of conducting prudently the business of the public.

Mirabeau's

Mirabeau's declamation against bankrupts, after perusing Roberspierre's against bloodshed ; but the National Assembly must have heard Mirabeau with more surprise than Roberspierre ; because none of them at that time were acquainted with the vindictive and cruel disposition of the latter, but they all knew that the former was a bankrupt.

His proposal, however, that the Assembly should adopt the law of Geneva, was received with applause ; in the midst of which, the Duke de la Rochefoucault rose to oppose that part of the law which regarded the children of bankrupts.

He delivered his opinion in terms worthy of the moderation, good sense, and generosity, which belonged to his character. " J'ai vu moi-meme," said he, " les heureux effets qu'elle a produits à Genève ; mais cependant elle me paroît contenir une disposition

trop rigoureuse à l'égard des enfans des pères banque-routiers. Sans doute c'est un beau sentiment de la part d'un fils d'acquitter les dettes de son père ; mais il faut laisser à la vertu à conseiller ce qui est honnête ; les loix doivent se borner à prescrire ce qui est juste. Les fautes sont personnelles ; l'homme coupable ou imprudent est puni ; mais il ne faut pas étendre la punition sur les enfans déjà trop malheureux des torts de leur père\*."

The day following the debate on this

\* I have myself seen its happy effects at Geneva ; yet it seems to me to shew too harsh a disposition towards the children of bankrupts. It assuredly is a most laudable resolution in a son to pay the debts of his father ; but we must leave it to virtue to prompt that which is generous ; the law ought to ordain only what is just. Faults are personal : let the man who is imprudent or culpable be punished ; but we ought not to extend the punishment to his children, who have already suffered by the ill-conduct of their father.

subject



subject was renewed. M. de la Rochefoucault's opinion was supported by the eloquence of M. Barnave. M. Mirabeau was absent. He entered the hall of the Assembly as the Duke's amendment was about to pass; which as soon as Mirabeau understood, he ascended the tribune. The Assembly, under the impression of the arguments for the amendment, were averse from hearing him. With much difficulty he obtained leave to speak, which he did so successfully, that the decree passed to the following effect:

“ No bankrupt or insolvent debtor can remain or become a member of any Municipal Council or Committee, nor of the Provincial or National Assemblies, nor exercise any public office whatever.

“ The exclusion is to take place against the children or others who possess the goods of the bankrupt, by whatsoever title they may  
so

to do, except the children of the bankrupt who have received their portion before the bankruptcy took place."

This is a very striking proof of the vast influence that Mirabeau had in the Assembly.

Proposals for the reduction of taxes were easily made; and those who made them were certain of acquiring popularity: but where to find funds to supply the place of the taxes reduced, to pay the interest of the public debt, and answer the other exigencies of the State, was a matter of more difficulty.

A measure adequate to all this, however, had been long in contemplation among those who are not scrupulous with regard to the means by which they are to attain their object. This was no other than seizing on the whole Church lands, and appropriating them to the exigencies of the State. An alarm had been given that this was in meditation, by a decree already passed, which,

which, however, was by no means equally unreasonable or unjust, namely, that for the abolition of monasteries.

It requires no wonderful talents for finance in any assembly of men to pay the public debts of the most involved nation in Europe, provided they are allowed to seize the fortunes of any number of the inhabitants for that purpose. Such a measure must reduce these devoted men to beggary, no doubt; but then the national debt will be extinguished, the taxes mightily diminished, and the remaining proprietors, with the whole body of the poor, will be in a more comfortable condition than ever.

The expedient of seizing the whole landed estates of the Clergy seems precisely of this nature: and, after such a violent instance of rapine is sanctioned by law, no robbery can be punished in France with any regard to justice or to their favourite maxim of equality.

On pressing exigencies, when the general welfare or safety of a nation is at stake, unquestionably extraordinary measures must be taken ; and, among others, it may be necessary that great pecuniary levies should be made : but, according to every idea of justice, this should be done by fair and equal contributions from the whole inhabitants, according to the best estimate that can be thought of respecting the wealth of each. To single out any one class, like a deer of the forest, who is immediately abandoned by all his selfish and cowardly companions, is the height of injustice ; and all the arguments urged in the Assembly in favour of the measure are the sophisms of men endeavouring to palliate the enormity of a deed, which, for selfish considerations, they were pre-determined to perpetrate.

It may be said, that, the opinion of the

French nation at large on the subject of religion having changed, it would be absurd to preserve, at a vast expence, an establishment which is now thought in a great measure useless. But let it be remembered, that those who chose the Church for their profession, as in all other professions, were educated in the conviction that the national establishment respecting the Church was to be continued; and, till it is declared otherwise, they have the national faith for their security. It has been justly remarked, that to strip a clergyman of his benefice on the pretext that it belonged to the Nation and that the Nation had need of the revenue, is as unjust as it would be to refuse to pay a prize in the State Lottery, because it belonged to the Nation, and because the Nation had need of the money.

If all the inhabitants of France, therefore,  
had

had become drifts in one day, still they would have been bound in equity to maintain all the Clergy in the full possession of their benefices during their lives, and also to have given an indemnity to every student or expectant, for the time and application he had bestowed to qualify himself for a profession thought of the first importance, although by an unexpected alteration of opinion in his countrymen it was now thought useless.

The Bishop of Autun and others, who were in possession of high ecclesiastical appointments and had the highest in expectation, supported the measure of appropriating the Church lands to the exigencies of the State. Views of interest or ambition have sometimes been the secret motives for actions apparently contrary to both; but admitting this conduct to have proceeded from the purest patriotism, still those gentle-

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men had a right to bestow only what they themselves possessed. There is neither patriotism nor generosity in *compelling* others to give what you are *willing* to yield up yourself. The landed estates of the Church thus sequestered for the payment of the national debt, the Clergy had nothing left but a precarious promise for the scanty pensions which were assigned to them.

On the whole, it must be acknowledged, that the vast fabric of wealth and power which in the course of ages had been raised by the Gallican church was overthrown by a pretended spirit of philosophy, in a manner as contrary to reason and equity as the superstition on which it was founded, or the avarice and ambition by which it was at first reared.

After this severity towards so powerful a body as the Clergy, those who practised the  
profession

profession of the law had no great reason to expect that much lenity would be shewn to them. By one decree all the Parliaments of the kingdom were suspended from their functions ; and, two days after, all titles of nobility and all distinction of orders were by another decree entirely abolished. This blow, which shook the whole Noblesse of France from the stilts that had made them seem taller than their fellow citizens, and discovered that many were beneath the common standard, and some mere dwarfs, struck a general panic through the whole aristocracy of Europe, and created a band of as inveterate enemies to the Revolution in every kingdom in Christendom as existed in France itself. But with whatever sensibility this blow was felt by those on whom it fell, it was treated as trifling and unsubstantial by that part of the National Assembly who were out of its reach ; many of whom affected a philosophical contempt for all such



gewgaws as titles and ribbons, and never mentioned them without scorn and indignation. It is entertaining to observe philosophers, who cannot see a ribbon across a man's shoulders, nor hear a title pronounced, without falling into a passion, endeavour to ridicule the weakness of those who grieve at being deprived of them : for if it is weak to lament the loss of what they called gewgaws, it seems fully as weak not to be able to bear that they should be in the possession of others. Considering how universal the *affectation* of this contempt is, it seems surprising that the *reality* is so very rare. Like the fox in the fable contemplating the grapes, mankind in general speak with disdain of titles and ribbons when they are at such a distance as precludes the hope of attaining them ; but snatch at them with eagerness as soon as they are brought within their reach.

With the distinction of orders and titles,  
armorial

armorial bearings and liveries were decreed to be abolished.

The affair of armorial bearings and liveries is managed better in Great Britain, where every tradesman is allowed to load his footmen with as rich liveries as the vanity of the master exacts, and his purse can afford ; and where for a moderate sum he may have what arms he pleases. Accordingly it is impossible to pass through the city of London without seeing on the carriages of grocers, brewers, bricklayers, contractors, and cheese-mongers, as many helmets, shields, and spears, as were in Godfrey's army at the siege of Jerusalem. There are indeed some mortified relicts and descendants of Nobility who lament, as a grievous abuse, that the carriages which drag the awkward offspring and bloated garbage of the city to a ball or feast at the Mansion-house should be permitted to be as richly

blazoned, as much admired by the ignorant, as those which convey the most ancient, and of course the purest, blood of the realm to St. James's. This no doubt is afflicting to the pride of a few honourable persons, both male and female, whose feelings may be the same, although their sexes are different; but, on the other hand, it ought be considered, that all kind of encouragement should be given to trade in this commercial nation, and that the affliction above mentioned is in some degree compensated by the innocent pleasure which a flaming coat of arms affords to the wives and daughters of many respectable citizens, and to those respectable citizens themselves, who are more at a loss how to enjoy their fortune than they were how to acquire it. For it is well known, that riches and enjoyment are not always coupled together: if they were, the Royal Exchange  
of

of London would, at a certain hour every day, comprehend more happiness than the most extensive and best cultivated provinces in the world ; which, from the many anxious and many vacant countenances to be seen there, we are apt to believe is not the case. Indeed there is reason to suspect, that this very valuable art of enjoying riches was somewhat of a rarity even in the Augustan age, since Horace compliments his accomplished friend Albius Tibullus for possessing it :

*Di tibi divitias dederant, artemque fruendi.*

To allow a free participation of the enjoyments which heraldry affords to every British subject at a reasonable price, seems equitable : that it does afford pleasure to some, even after their age, conscience, and constitution have interdicted them from other pleasures, abundance of examples might be given. It may perhaps be thought excusable

able to quote one on account of its singularity.

After having made a considerable fortune by the exercise of his profession in the capital, a certain taylor retired to the province in which he had been born, on purpose, as he himself declared, to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*; for this taylor had been several years at a grammar school, and still remembered some sentences of Latin.

The coach in which he and his family arrived at the place of his residence in the country stood much in need of being new-painted. His wife had given orders for this before they left London; but as he knew it would suffer by the journey, he begged that the painting might be postponed until the end of it: to which she at last consented, on his promising that instead of the cypher a coat of arms should be the coach's ornament in future. He chose for a crest a large pair of scissors expanded: gratitude,

he said, dictated this ; because they were the chief instrument of his fortune. For his motto he chose the words *Vincere aut mori*. On being told that these words might be thought more suitable to a soldier than to a man of his profession ; he said that he belonged to a military family ; for his father had been hautboy to a regiment, and that he himself, in his youth, had felt some inclination for being a soldier, which he was prevented from indulging by the unexpected breaking out of a war ; nothing could be more suitable therefore than the motto he had chosen : and he gave orders to the painter accordingly. But when his wife understood what had been decided, she declared that a mere crest and motto was little better than a cypher, and would look scandalously naked, which was what she could not bear. The husband consulted the curate respecting some additional device

or ornament to cover the nakedness, and remove the objection made by his wife.

The curate, who was somewhat of a wag, observed that although scissars were made of cold iron as well as swords, yet some people might think that there was not a sufficient correspondence between the crest and the motto: it would therefore be of importance to contrive such ornaments as would link them a little better together. The taylor acknowledged the justness of this observation, but added, that he knew of none that would have that effect.

If you could assume supporters, said the curate, it might perhaps be easier done. I have no particular objection to supporters, rejoined the taylor, and I am sure they would delight my wife. Would you choose men or beasts? said the curate. I think one of each would be best, answered the taylor: pray what beast would you advise me to ?

to? A lion by all means, said the curate; because, being the most powerful beast of the forest, he suits with *vincere* in your motto. That he does to a hair! exclaimed the taylor; but, added he after musing for some time, I cannot conceive what kind of man will suit with *mori*. A dead man to be sure, said the curate. On my conscience that is true! cried the taylor; and it is so obvious that I wonder I did not hit on it myself. The arms were ordered directly—a pair of scissars expanded, with a lion and a dead man supporting them. The taylor's wife was delighted, as he had foretold; and great was the importance which swelled his own heart when he remarked the admiration with which the villagers contemplated the emblematic painting on his coach, or when the import of the motto was explained to the gazing circle by the schoolmaster or some other of equal learning.

Why that disdainful smile at the vanity  
 I of



of this poor taylor? The story is told of yourself under another name. Let some, who ridicule his motto and lion, recollect, how little their own vain pretensions, low pursuits, debasing habits, and the whole despicable tenor of their lives, accord with the emblems or mottos of their coats of arms. Let them remember that, if truth and propriety were always observed in those articles, instead of lions, eagles, and other noble animals, many of them would have asses, hogs, peacocks, or dunghill cocks, for their supporters: and let them also remember, that the respect which is still paid to some of them proceeds entirely from a regard to the memory of men that are dead.

It may be said that this also is absurd, that every degree of esteem or dislike should depend on personal qualities; that the son of Shakspeare might have been a fool, the son of Hampden a slave, and that a whole line of heroic ancestry are no security against  
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the descendent's being a coward; and, *vice versa*, that the son of a fool might be a first-rate genius; the son of a slavish-spirited father might be an intrepid asserter of liberty; and the descendant of a race of cowards might be a hero. This sentiment, therefore, which transfers any portion of the respect or disgrace due to the character of the father to the son is unreasonable. It certainly is so; but in this particular the prejudice is more powerful than our reason. It is not so strong indeed in England as in Germany with their sixteen quarters, or as it was in France, where a man of worth and character was considered as disgraced, if his father or brother was executed on a scaffold; but still its influence is apparent. We see men every day, who live respected in society on that fund of esteem which was accumulated by their forefathers, although they themselves have not added one particle to it during the whole course of their lives; and,

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what must afford a candid mind more uneasiness, we likewise see individuals of much personal worth in some degree neglected and avoided on account of the infamous character of their parents. This prejudice unquestionably is to be surmounted in this country ; but it requires time and continued efforts ; for although every body admits that esteem and regard ought to depend entirely on personal qualities, yet even in this philosophical island every body may observe that they do not entirely, but are in some measure influenced by other circumstances. The greatest philosopher in the island feels elated when mention is made of the honourable conduct of his father, and will shrink with confusion at the most remote hint of his infamy. This feeling pervades mankind, the wise as well as the foolish, and continues until death. Even the condemned housebreaker and thief at the place of execution shews solicitude for the reputation of those from whom he

is descended, and declares with his last breath, that he was born of poor but *honest* parents. However contrary this feeling may be to philosophy, it seems friendly to virtue : but there are other prejudices respecting birth, of which the same cannot be said, and some which are exceptions to that just mentioned ; for, if a supposed progenitor is of very high rank, it removes in a great measure the shame which the son would otherwise feel at the recollection of the weakness or even wickedness of his character : for people are vain of being sprung from Kings and Princes, even although of the two persons from whom they originally derive that distinction, all the world knows that the one was a knave and the other a w—. And people like to be of an old family rather than of a new, though no one person of the whole line has been distinguished for any praise-worthy quality. The known antiquity of a family alone, inde-

pendent of other circumstances, gives it some degree of respectability. This no doubt is greatly increased by its producing persons of eminent talents or virtues ; but even when no examples of that kind can be quoted in a family, that a certain degree of respect is due to its antiquity, seems agreeable to the general feelings and sentiments of society in Europe : and the degree of respect due to every gentleman's family in Great Britain and Ireland would be arranged and ascertained by the prevailing opinion of the country, founded on its antiquity and on the merit and brilliancy of the characters it had produced, were all these considerations left to their own natural operation. But this is in some measure disturbed by the unlimited power of the Crown to create Peers, which sometimes has been exerted where the public opinion would not have directed it. The patriotism of Hampden, the heroic character

ter of Montrose, the victories of Marlborough, and the brilliant administration of Chatham, would have thrown a vast share of lustre on their descendents, although no Peerage had ever existed. But when a man of no merit, or perhaps of demerit, is by the ill-judged favour of the Prince created a Peer, and raised to the highest rank of the Peerage, instances of which are to be met with in the British history ; then his family takes the precedence, and becomes more honourable, in one sense of the word, than those of all the Peers of the realm beneath the rank of Duke. Or if an enterprising footman in any of the most ancient and honourable families of the three kingdoms should afterwards, abroad or at home, by means not very honourable, acquire an immense fortune, with the command of boroughs, and be created a Peer ; his family instantly becomes more honourable than that of his master.

The unlimited prerogative of creating Peers may be attended with advantages which greatly overbalance the circumstances here enumerated, and may on the whole be a very wise institution ; but, without presuming to give any opinion on that point, it seems evident that it in some degree counteracts the progressive course of importance derived from the mere antiquity of family, and to diminish a prejudice which it has been supposed to augment, and against which poets have often directed their satire, and philosophers declaimed.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Plans of the Noblesse and Parliaments for  
Resistance ill combined and ineffectual—En-  
deavour to deprive the National Assembly  
of the public Confidence—Paper War—The  
ill Conduct of the French has injured the  
Cause of Freedom more than the Arguments  
of their Enemies—The Red Book—Misun-  
derstanding between M. Necker and M.  
Camus—Power of Peace and War.*

WHEN the importance of the decrees  
which had been passed in a short  
time by the National Assembly are con-  
sidered, and how severely so many power-  
ful classes of men must have felt them-  
selves sufferers by the new regulations;  
it seems surprising that they were not re-



fisted with more vigour. It is wonderful that the Clergy in particular did not take the alarm sooner than they did, and try by every means in their power to prevent the calling of the States-General. It might have occurred to them, that in an incredulous age their immense riches would be a temptation to a set of men assembled for the purpose of clearing a vast load of debt, and willing to be at as little of the expence themselves as possible: but although the Clergy might naturally have expected to be obliged to contribute a great deal, they could hardly dread being reduced to such scanty pensions as are not sufficient to enable them to support a decent existence.

All monastic establishments likewise were suppressed, the convent lands confiscated; the friars and nuns being granted very moderate stipends, with the privilege to the lat-

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ter to remain in their convents if they chose.

The Parliaments, particularly that of Paris, had been long in the use of opposing the Sovereign, by refusing or at least delaying to register his edicts, and by the remonstrances they published against them. The resistance which they had often made, joined to the bold spirit of some of their remonstrances, had no doubt prepared the public mind for some important change of government, and hastened the convocation of the States-General, which afterwards became the National Assembly. After this the Parliaments little thought that they should be among the earliest victims of a revolution which they had contributed so largely to found. Their indignation on this account rendered them much disposed to enter into any conspiracy against the new government.

The mortifications which the whole body

of the Noblesse had met with in a thousand instances, their sudden and complete loss of importance, and the dread of approaching anarchy, began to make an alteration in the opinion of many even of those who had been the most eager for the summoning of the States-General. The sacrifices into which some had been surprised in a moment of enthusiasm, and which others had been prompted to make from a spirit of retaliation, were repented of in the cool hours of reflection, and were highly disapproved of by many of the Noblesse in the provinces, who had favoured the Revolution at the beginning, from discontent with the Court, from a fear of the Bastille, from a desire of having the liberty of going out of the kingdom when they pleased, and other reasons ; but who now saw the torrent of democracy bearing so strongly against their whole body, that they willingly joined in any measures to stem it, at the risk of the ancient system's  
being

being re-established, with all its grievances. Their plans, however, were ill combined, and feebly supported. The Parliament of Toulouse, with a considerable number of the Nobility in that neighbourhood, ventured to publish a kind of manifesto, “ inviting all orders of citizens to unite for the preservation of the monarchy, of law, of property, and, above all, of religion, which were represented as in the utmost danger from the violence of those who had usurped all the powers of government, and kept the King himself in captivity.”

The ancient provincial States were in various places summoned to assemble. Those of Bearn and Dauphiné actually met; and in the form of assembling in the latter the distinction of orders was observed. Protests were taken by the States in several other provinces against the decree relating to Church lands.

The Chamber of Vacations at Rouen

acted in a manner highly unbecoming the character of lawyers, and too like the practices of petti-foggers. They *openly* registered the act suspending their power, and *secretly* protested against what they had done, and transmitted their protest to the King.

This despicable conduct shocked the candid mind of the Monarch. He informed the National Assembly of the whole transaction. The National Assembly, being highly irritated, were disposed to the utmost severity against the offenders. M. de Frondeville, who was both President of the Parliament and also of the Chamber of Vacations, attempted to palliate their conduct, by declaring at the bar of the Assembly, that the protest was meant only as a mark of respect to his Majesty ; and, being conscious that his assertion was not very credible, he attempted to move them by imploring *with tears* the clemency of the Assembly.

All this would probably have been to  
little

little purpose, had not the King himself written a letter in favour of the Chamber of Vacations: and the proceedings against them were stopped with difficulty; for many members of the Assembly contended that they ought to be punished. The majority, however, in deference to the King, voted forgiveness.

The Parliament of Metz protested against the decree of the Assembly which suspended them from their functions; and when they had enjoyed the applause which they imagined belonged to them for a conduct so spirited, they began to consider how they would be able to support it, and avert the indignation of the National Assembly. It would certainly have been more prudent in the Parliament of Metz to have made this reflection before they took the protest; but that method has at no period been very prevalent in France; and,

in the course of the present revolution in particular, it is to be remarked that on many important occasions its greatest heroes have acted in the first place, and deferred reflection until they were cooler. This, we are assured, does not proceed from any deficiency of judgment in the French, but merely from their natural vivacity, which outruns their judgment. When the Parliament of Metz had time to reflect on what they had done, their judgment, though a little tardy, informed them that they had no means of supporting their protest, or resisting the power of the National Assembly, and that their only resource was submission, retracting their protest, and imploring forgiveness; to render which more certain, they stooped to request the mediation of the Municipality with the National Assembly; and it was in consequence of this mediation that an amnesty was granted.

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The National Assembly displayed so much firmness, and seemed so little intimidated by those indications of discontent, and the partial insurrections which through the influence, as was supposed, of the Nobility, the Clergy, and members of the provincial Parliaments, frequently burst forth, that the idea of a counter-revolution became weaker every day. But what proves that those disorders did not entirely proceed from the political dissensions of the times, but often arose from an undistinguishing disposition to pillage, is, that the houses and castles of some of the most distinguished among the popular party, as those of M. Charles Lameth, the Duke of Aiguillon, and others, as well as those of the aristocratic party, were plundered by the mobs.

There is no question, however, but that the steady countenance which the National Assembly retained amid the dangers which threatened them depended on the approbation



tion of the people in general ; and that the timid conduct of the Parliaments, so different from that boldness which they had manifested before the Revolution in opposing the measures of the government, was owing to their finding the voice of the people, which had formerly been with them, now so much against them.

It was evident, therefore, that all attacks on the National Assembly would be vain as long as they retained the confidence of the people ; and, to have any hopes of effecting a counter-revolution, that it was absolutely necessary to remove this, and give them an ill opinion of that body. With this view a multitude of pamphlets were published daily against the conduct of the Assembly, pointing out the wickedness or folly of their decrees, and turning the characters and persons of the members into ridicule.

This kind of attack was retorted with the same weapons ; and, as at this time the  
freedom

freedom of the press was allowed in its utmost licentiousness, not only the ancient Government and the conduct of the present Ministers were painted in the blackest colours, but the characters of the King and Queen were also libelled, with a malignity unequalled in any age or country.

The conflict at this period resembled the skirmishes of slingers and light troops which preceded the battles of the ancients; but soon after the full-armed force on both sides shocked with each other.

As this paper war was not confined to France, but was extended to other nations; and as the Clergy of all nations were generally the enemies of the French Revolution; it was imagined from the number and ability of so many ready-mustered assailants, it would be more powerfully attacked than defended.

It is universally acknowledged, however,  
that

that the most eloquent and most severe work against the Révolution that has appeared, is not the production either of an ecclesiastic or a Frenchman. The writer alluded to has in many parts of this performance displayed the imagination of a poet, and in some the foresight of a prophet; yet his work made more admirers than profelytes.

Men's political opinions it is generally difficult to alter. They are greatly influenced by our early education, and by our connections of blood or friendship, which on many minds make too deep an impression to be effaced by eloquence or reasoning. Political opinions are also under another influence, which is often too powerful for eloquence and reasoning, namely people's views of interest and ambition. At first sight it may be imagined, that such views could only affect their conduct, but not their real opinion; but observation has taught

taught us, that when interest leans decidedly to one side, opinion is apt gradually to take the same bias. Reason and eloquence, therefore, can have full effect on those only who consider the subject in discussion according to its own intrinsic merit, regardless of the circumstances above mentioned.

The converts made by the writings on both sides were on this account much fewer than they would otherwise have been ; and although some of them were admirably written, they had little more effect on the cause than many eloquent speeches in the British Parliament, which only furnish the members with arguments that never occurred to themselves, in support of the vote which, at all events, they were determined to give.

The shocking conduct of certain frothy monsters, who, in the progressive fermentation of the French Revolution, were raised to the summit, have injured it more in the minds of mankind than all the writings that appeared against it.

The love of liberty is naturally linked in the mind with the most generous, endearing, and elevated sentiments: Intrepidity, Benevolence, Cheerfulness, Genius, Prosperity, Candour, Friendship, and Love, when personified by the imagination, move hand in hand with Freedom, like the attendants of Aurora in Guido's picture. But the monsters above mentioned have done all in their power to destroy her attractions, and to give her for companions Anarchy, Cruelty, Envy, Rancour, Suspicion, Hypocrisy, Fraud, and Misery: so that the very name of Liberty, according to a strong allusion of Mirabeau, makes the same impression on some people that water does on those afflicted with the hydrophobia.

And, what is equally to be lamented, the conduct of those same wretches who disgraced the cause of liberty has rendered the gloomy form of despotism less terrible, and the debasing expressions of servility less disgusting, even to those who formerly dreaded

dreaded and abhorred them above all other evils.

Soon after the Royal Family began their residence at Paris, a book was brought into notice, which immediately excited more attention than any other. It was called the Red Book; and contained a register of all the pensions, donations, and every kind of expenditure of the public money by the Court for the last twenty years. A Committee had been appointed by the Assembly to make enquiry into this expenditure. The Committee had heard of this Red Book. They required of M. Necker that it should be communicated to them, as necessary to enable them to make an accurate report to the Assembly. The King expressed his reluctance to this, that the profusion of his grandfather might not be exposed to the eyes of the public. There were certain articles of a later date which, no doubt, he was equally anxious should remain concealed. To remove those difficulties, M. Ca-

mus, the President of the Committee, wrote to M. Necker :

“ Il ne s’agit pas de divulguer, pour servir d’aliment à une vaine curiosité, des détails dont la publicité pourroit faire quelque peine au Roi. Pénétrés, comme toute l’Assemblée, des sentimens du plus profond respect pour un Prince qui fait le bonheur de son peuple, les membres du Comité mettront toujours beaucoup de réserve dans les opérations qui l’intéresseront ; mais il est indispensable que quelques-uns des ses membres puissent déclarer à l’Assemblée qu’ils ont vu ce livre, et qu’ils ont pris les notes nécessaires au travail qui leur a été confié\*.”

M. Necker

\* There is no intention of divulging circumstances that might give uneasiness to the King ; the publication of which could serve no purpose but that of gratifying idle curiosity. Penetrated, like the whole Assembly, with sentiments of profound respect for a Prince who promotes the happiness of his people, the Committee will always conduct themselves with delicacy in whatever concerns him ; but it is necessary that some members

M. Necker reminded the Commissioners of the Committee of these expressions in the President's letter, and added that it was in consequence of them that the King confided the register into their hands.

M. Necker must have been greatly surprised when he found a few days after that the Red Book was published, without the King's consent and without a decree of the Assembly.

If M. Necker had reason to be surprised, M. Camus had some reason to be ashamed. Nothing, however, can be a stronger proof that he was not, than the answer he made to M. Necker, when he was asked how he could allow the book to be published, after the letter he had written, and without permission either from the King or the Assembly. " Nous sommes furs de n'être pas desavoués," replied M. Camus, " par l'Assem-

members should be enabled to declare in the Assembly, that they have seen the book in question, and that they have taken notes respecting the business which has been entrusted to them.



blée ; quant au Roi, nous ne sommes pas ses représentans \*."

Many articles of this register were calculated to excite clamours against the Court ; none more than that which related to the King's younger brother, the Count d'Artois ; according to which this Prince had received from the public treasury, during the short administration of M. Calonne, above a million sterling. The Count's debts amounted to nearly as much ; which could not be imputed to M. Calonne, for it was asserted and believed that he had, with admirable generosity, urged the King to pay them all, and as speedily as possible, for this cogent reason, that their speedy payment was of importance to the Prince's *tranquillity*.

If it were not a general opinion that Princes very seldom have friends, it might

\* We are certain that our conduct will not be disapproved of by the Assembly : as for the King, we are not his representatives.

seem

seem surprising that no one represented to the Comte d'Artois how exceedingly impolitic his profusion was at a period when the people were burdened with taxes, and when such general discontent prevailed in the nation ; particularly when it might with equal truth have been represented, how infinitely becoming it would be in him, by a retrenchment of his expences, to pay his creditors without any new burden on a nation already so heavily burdened. And such retrenchment to a man of his high rank ought to be a smaller sacrifice than to any other person ; because all essential pleasures and gratifications he would continue to enjoy, and that respect and precedence which others attempt to purchase by profusion and ostentatious expence, his high birth secured to him without them.

It will not be thought extraordinary that the pensions were not precisely in proportion to the merit of the pensioner, or that, in the opinion of several, those who had the largest

were often the least deserving; but there were reasons assigned for some which will seem singular even to those who are best acquainted with the manner in which such rewards are generally distributed, particularly one which was appointed to a gentleman, because he had been obliged to assign part of his revenues to his creditors till his debts should be paid; and several persons were conspicuous on this list who, according to the popular opinion, deserved public reprobation or punishment more than reward. It appeared by this register, that 100,660 livres were distributed in annual pensions to performers at the Opera who had retired. This, it was thought, was paying too much for an entertainment which the inhabitants of Paris had previously purchased at the door of the theatre. Eighteen millions of livres were distributed in pensions among the military. This sum appeared so enormous to one person, that he declared that Alexander might have pensioned

sioned the officers who assisted him in the conquest of the world at no greater expence. Upon the whole, however, this article was less disapproved of than others. The indignation was highest against certain courtiers who never served in the armies, and certain favourites of both sexes who, previous to the publication of the register, were the objects of popular odium.

Many other observations were made in the National Assembly, when this business of the pensioners was brought forward, which must have been mortifying to those of them who were present.

“It is most hard,” said one member, “that those who are barely able to provide their families with the necessaries of life should be obliged to contribute to the superfluities of idle courtiers.” “What renders it more intolerable,” observed another, “is, that those who live at the expence of the people look upon them with disdain; they consider them as an inferior race of beings, created

created to labour without enjoyment ; while they consider themselves as having a right to enjoyment without labour. To be able to count in their families a long line of indolent men, who cultivated no talent, and were entirely useless to the State, they call having ancestry ; and on this is founded their claim for pensions." " They hold down their heads," said a third, " when their pensions are mentioned ; but they all shew their faces again when they are to be paid." A fourth said, " There are but two just titles to any succour of this kind from the State ; one is, services rendered to the country, and the other is unmerited poverty ; and the time, it is to be hoped, approaches, when, without those two united, no man will accept of a pension from Government who would refuse an alms."

The total list of pensions amounted to about 34,000,000 of livres. This afforded a fruitful theme of declamation against the Court and Courtiers. There were members,

bers; however, who had the courage to oppose the popular torrent on this occasion. The Abbé Maury asserted that the amount was not surprising, considering the immense armies and fleets which France was obliged to maintain, where such numbers of wounded and superannuated officers retired from the service were to be provided for. "It is worthy," continued he, "of a great nation like France to take generous care of its defenders: the Assembly ought not narrowly to examine what those brave men have cost their country: those brave men did not calculate what the service of their country would cost them. Do not, therefore, give them reason to regret that they placed confidence in the generosity of the country they served."

The Duke of Liancourt observed, that, of all the resources which the necessities of the State obliged them to adopt, the most painful was a reduction of the rewards bestowed on merit, and especially the merits  
of

of men of that profession, among whom the contempt of death was so general, that it was scarcely considered by them as a virtue.

These and similar observations prevented the violent reductions at first proposed ; and a plan was finally adopted, more conformable to justice as well as humanity : for it was justly remarked, that even abuses of long standing cannot be overset at once without injustice ; and, however lightly such things are spoken of by those who are not to be personally affected by them, every plan for the relief of the public, at the expence of any one class of the community, is an act of cruelty ; because the injury done to the sufferers is most exquisitely felt ; whereas the benefit received, being spread over the whole nation, is hardly perceived by any particular citizen.

In consequence of the conduct above mentioned on the part of Camus, a breach took place between him and M. Necker ; and the

popularity of the latter declined from that moment. The reverse would have happened in England: Camus would have lost popularity, and M. Necker would not; because, although he was in some measure duped in this negotiation, his character for fair dealing and integrity was not touched. And in England the reputation of scrupulous honesty is not only necessary for maintaining public confidence and popularity, but it is almost sufficient of itself without any talent besides; whereas in France, honesty exclusively taken is not in such high estimation. What is the reason of this? A Frenchman would say, perhaps, Because it is more common; but this solution would not be thought satisfactory in England. It is possibly owing to the French putting a greater estimation on certain glittering qualities which they themselves possess in a higher degree than their neighbours; each being prejudiced in favour of the staple commodity of his own country; as an English farmer prefers strong beer to Burgundy, and



and a French peasant, Burgundy to strong beer.

At this time there was some appearance of a rupture between Great Britain and Spain; and the Minister laid before the National Assembly the preparations which the King thought expedient, and the precautions he had taken on that occasion. This information gave rise to various discussions, and at last brought on a debate on the important question, into whose hands the nation ought to entrust the power of make war or peace.

One party were for placing it in the hands of the King, and another in the National Assembly. There was nothing very new in the arguments used by either. Those who supported the first opinion urged the example of Great Britain, which enjoyed all the advantages of promptitude and secrecy that were attendant on this prerogative's belonging to the King, and was protected from the inconveniences by the privilege which the Parliament retained of refusing

refusing the subsidies. They at the same time hinted at the immediate necessity of augmenting their fleet, and taking measures for protecting their colonies against the attempts of England.

The other party spoke with contempt of the vaunted precaution of refusing subsidies, which, they said, like many other articles in the British Constitution, was more beneficial in appearance than in reality; because this controul, although it might force the King to make a disadvantageous peace, did not prevent an impolitic or unjust war, which, when once declared, must be carried on for some time at all events; that to refuse subsidies during a war would be refusing to allow the nation to defend itself, and decreeing that all its inhabitants and property should be submitted to the power of an enemy: of course subsidies never could be refused. At the same time they assert, that the British nation was too magnanimous, and too great lovers of liberty,

liberty, to attack France at a time when, after the example which England had given, she was struggling to establish a free Government; that, however agreeable that might be to the selfish policy of some other nations, it was repugnant to the generous character of the English, whose love of general freedom surmounted all narrow views of interest and of ancient prejudices.

This question, like every other of any importance that came before the Assembly, was discussed in every public garden, street, coffee-house, tavern, and private family in Paris. The public opinion, pronounced by the awful voice of a heated and tumultuous majority, against this right being placed in the Executive Power; and the liberty of free discussion, the liberty of the press, and that general liberty which was then enjoyed in France, had already produced one of the worst effects of slavery, namely, rendering it dangerous for individuals to use the freedom said to be granted by expressing their

their genuine opinions, when they were contrary to that which prevailed among the people. Those who spoke in the National Assembly in favour of the King's prerogative, on this occasion, were not only exposed to the clamorous insults of the people as they went to and returned from it, but they were obliged to use address at the beginning of their speeches to engage the audience to allow them quietly to proceed. It had been proposed that a manifesto or declaration should be made by the Assembly to all the nations in Europe, that France was determined against all augmentation of territory; never to attack her neighbours, nor to wage any war unless forced to it in self-defence, and for the purpose of repelling aggression. It was asserted that this declaration would prevent their being attacked by Great Britain or any of the neighbouring nations; of course, that there was no need of assigning the prerogative of

declaring war to the Executive rather than the Legislative Power, on account of the superior secrecy of the former ; since, if they had no war, there would be no need of secrecy.

M. Malouet, who spoke with uncommon penetration in favour of the royal prerogative on this occasion, observed, “ that similar professions had often been made by other Powers ; and therefore, however much he approved of the manifesto which was proposed, he had great doubts of its being relied on by the other Powers of Europe as a security for the continuation of the pacific conduct of France. He observed, that we were informed by history, that free States were as liable to make wars of ambition as the most despotic. He asserted, that the only Power in Europe who during the present century had made no wars but of a defensive nature was the Grand Signior ; that the Kings of England since the year

1688

1688 had never begun a single war but in consequence of the declared wishes of the nation ; and in some instances the inclination of the King and his Ministers for the continuation of peace was reluctantly broken on account of the clamour of the merchants for war : that though it was true that the late American war was put an end to by a vote of the House of Commons, it was equally true that it had been begun in consequence of an act of Parliament to which the Americans refused to submit. He added, that France had not entered into the late American war in obedience to the will of the King, though he was then absolute ; but in consequence of the Minister's being pushed to it by the general wish of the people. And on the whole he concluded, that as it was clear that, since the Roman republic until the moment he was speaking, free States were as fond of war as despotic ones, and subjects as eager

for it as their Sovereigns, very little benefit was to be expected from the proposed manifesto.

This consideration, that a disposition for war has existed in all nations and in every form of government, notwithstanding of all mankind being convinced that war is a losing game even to conquerors, inclines some people to think that man is by nature a *fighting animal*, who takes pleasure in war for its own sake. If this be the case, we need not be surpris'd that all the reasonings of philosophers and all the sermons of preachers against it have had no more effect than the same means when employed to convince men of the hurtful tendency of some of their other pleasures, and to persuade them to relinquish them.

As Mirabeau generally took the popular side of a question, and Malouet that which his understanding approved without regarding whether it was popular or not, they were  
often

often in opposition to each other. On the occasion above mentioned, however, Mirabeau joined Malouet, assisted him against the torrent of prejudice, and with manly eloquence unfolded the mischief which he was persuaded would arise from depriving the executive power of the prerogatives of declaring war and making peace. They were, after all, obliged to acquiesce in a kind of middle plan, proposed by M. Alexander Lameth; which, after being amended by M. Freteau and M. Desmeunier, was decreed in the following words: “ Le droit de la paix et de la guerre appartient à la Nation : la guerre ne pourra être décidée que par un décret du Corps Législatif, qui sera rendu sur la proposition formelle et nécessaire du Roi, et ensuite sanctionné par sa Majesté \*.”

As

\* The right of declaring war and concluding peace belongs to the Nation : war cannot be decided on but by a decree of the Legislative Body, in consequence



As this decree left to the King the prerogative of announcing to the National Assembly the necessity of war and peace, which could not be at all deliberated on by them until he laid it before them; and as, after the government came to be in some degree settled, it was naturally supposed that his Majesty would have considerable influence on the decision of the question; those who supported the royal prerogative were not so completely defeated on this occasion as the populace imagined; who, as soon as the decree was passed, celebrated it as a victory with all their usual demonstrations of joy. Some thought the joy ridiculous, and considered those as a parcel of dupes who looked on this as a triumph.

Without examining whether the popular  
of a formal and necessary proposition made to them  
by the King, which must be afterwards sanctioned by  
him.

party

party had gained a victory or not, we cannot think the people were duped who rejoiced as if they had ; for, as the only enjoyment which the people of any nation derive from the most indisputed victories they ever obtain consists in the exultation, illumination, and intoxication of a public rejoicing, it does not seem to be ill judged in them to secure these at all events.

Even the English people, though not so apt as the French to be thrown into transports of joy, are sensible of this, and never allow any thing that can be construed into a victory to escape without a public rejoicing. And as real victories have not occurred of late so often as could be wished, if such an account has sometimes been given of defeats that they passed for victories, and made the people rejoice, who can blame the fabricators of so benevolent a fraud ?

## CHAPTER XX.

*Preparations for the Ceremony of the Confederation.—Duke of Orleans returns to Paris.—Offence taken at the Manner of distributing Tickets.—Ceremony.—Jealousy and Misunderstanding between the Officers of the Troops of the Line and the National Guards.—An Insurrection at Nancy.—M. de Bouillé ordered to march to that Town.—Heroic Action of a young Officer.—Dreadful Scene of Slaughter.—Effect it produced at the Capital.*

WITH a view to make a deep and lasting impression on the public mind, and to connect the Revolution with agreeable, magnificent and religious sentiments, a great public ceremony had been in preparation for some time. On this occasion the King, the National Assembly and the

the People were to take an oath to maintain the cause of Liberty and the Constitution, of which the chief articles were already known.

Another reason for this ceremony was, that those provinces which had enjoyed peculiar privileges were supposed to be irritated at their being deprived of them, and in hopes of having them restored provided the new division of France into departments could be overset; it was therefore thought that so remarkable a ceremony, being performed in each separate department, would mark the division with force in the minds of the people; while making them all take the oaths to maintain the Constitution, of which the division into departments was an article, would render them averse to any attempt that might be made to alter that arrangement.

The 14th of July 1790, on account of its being the anniversary of the taking of  
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the Bastile, was fixed upon for the day of this ceremony, and the extensive plain of the Champ-de-Mars for the place in which it was to be celebrated. It was thought expedient to shape the ground into an amphitheatre of such prodigious extent as should admit the multitude who were to be spectators of, or, according to the French phrase, to assist at, the ceremony.

Expectation was wound up to a height that attracted numbers not only from the distant provinces of France, but strangers from many other countries of Europe; among others the Duke of Orleans, to whom a spectacle of this kind was a matter of the first importance. The idea of being absent from such an exhibition becoming insupportable, he wrote a letter to the President, which was read in the National Assembly, announcing that, the object of his mission to England being now ended, he had informed the King of his intention to return—

turn—that he had thought it proper to give the Assembly the same notice—adding that, if they should not think it necessary to deliberate on the subject, he should consider that as a permission for him to return. The Assembly threw their eyes on M. La Fayette ; but although he had privately used means to prevent the Duke from this step, he did not think proper to oppose it openly, and therefore he declared that the reasons which had rendered the Duke's absence from France expedient did not any longer exist.

The partisans of the Duke of Orleans had been for some time pressing him to return, and were prepared to raise an outcry if it should be resisted : the Court therefore declined any contest which might be attended with more troublesome consequences than could result from the Duke's presence, especially as his popularity was considerably diminished ; and many believed that the eagerness he shewed for returning had no

motive more profound or dangerous than his passion for seeing a fine show. No objection being made, the Assembly passed to the order of the day, which was construed into a permission for his returning to Paris, and he returned accordingly.

But the formation of the amphitheatre for the Confederation being a work of immense labour, the Parisians began to be afraid, a month or three weeks previous to the 14th of July, that it would not be ready so soon. The inhabitants of Vienna or London might have been consoled under the apprehension of a similar misfortune by the reflexion, that, if it should not be ready by the 14th of July, it would by the 14th of August : but such a consideration afforded no comfort to the Parisians, they lost all patience at the bare mention of it ; it was like telling a company of children, when a feast of fruit and sweetmeats is ready to be served up to them, that they should have  
 them

them on some future day. To prevent so dreadful a calamity, some of the most zealous citizens offered their gratuitous labour to accelerate the work ; the applause they met with excited others to follow their example ; and in a short time the same desire glowed in every breast, of both sexes, every condition, and all ages. The field of the Confederation became the only place of public resort : all amusements and employments were neglected for those of wielding the spade and the pick-axe, and the most dissipated town in the world became at once the most laborious.

Every district and corporation marshalled the volunteers belonging to them under their respective banners, and marched them daily to the field. Various clubs, societies, and associations, in fancy dresses suitable to the work they were to be employed in, went also in procession, preceded by musicians. Individuals in all situations in life, and of all



religious persuasions, Jews as well as Christians, soldiers and priests, sailors and monks, judges and dancing-masters, bankers and beggars, poets, advocates, painters, actors, and tradesmen of every kind were seen working cordially together. There was as great a confusion of professions and trades at the forming of this same amphitheatre, as there was of tongues at the rearing of the tower of Babel—but the first, instead of preventing, promoted the work. Young women also of every denomination were daily seen tripping to the field with their gowns tucked, and belts of the national ribbon around their waists. There the lover wrought by the side of his mistress, enlivened by her smiles, and encouraged by the tune of *Ca ira*.

The day of such vast expectation at last arrived: the amphitheatre was formed with the altar in the middle, the throne of the King, a magnificent pavilion and commodious

dious seats for the Queen and Royal Family, and the triumphal arches through which the various processions were to pass, were finished only two hours before the processions began.

At day-break the citizens began to flock to the amphitheatre, which, it was said, was of sufficient extent to contain above three hundred thousand.

On the preceding night some of the districts had distributed tickets of admission to the wives and daughters of the most distinguished or most favoured citizens; and no less than four thousand of the National Guards were ordered on duty at the Field of Confederation.

This produced discontent and murmurs. It was said that all the citizens had an equal claim to a place in the amphitheatre; that those who went first had a right to their choice of every place, except such as were destined for the persons in some public office;

office ; and the Guards appointed on service at the Champ-de-Mars declared, that they would not oppose the entrance of any citizen whether he had a ticket or not.

When these declarations were known, the Municipality thought proper to order it to be proclaimed in the middle of the night of the 13th, that the tickets which had been distributed were entirely useless ; which made great numbers resort to the amphitheatre by break of day ; and the Guards, instead of opposing their entrance, endeavoured to amuse them during the long interval till the ceremony should begin, by military evolutions and dancing the Carmagnole on the plain.

The great procession consisted of a band of music, a body of the National Guards, cavalry as well as infantry, led by M. La Fayette, and followed by the electors of the city of Paris—the principal members of the Municipality—the Deputies to the National Assembly—

Assembly—the Deputies from one half of the departments into which France had been divided—a deputation from the army and fleet, headed by two Marshals of France—the Deputies from the other half of the departments—and a body of horse and foot belonging to the National Guards, with a band of music, closed the procession; which was rendered more splendid by the banners belonging to the various classes of which it was composed, and by the martial airs which were played in the intervals between the universal exclamation of *Vive la Nation!* which from time to time pierced the air.

The different bodies which formed the procession had particular places assigned to them. Those for the members of the National Assembly were to the right and left of the King's throne.

Two hundred Priests, dressed in garments of white linen bound with the national-coloured ribbons, stood on the steps of the

altar, which had been raised for the purpose of administering the oath, for which function the Committee of the Commune appointed the Bishop of Autun, a man of talents, and of one of the most ancient families in France, and a zealous promoter of the Revolution.

When he was about to celebrate the mass which preceded the pronunciation of the oath, the sky became obscure with clouds; a storm of wind took place, and was followed by a deluge of rain. In the brightest period of the Roman republic, this would have put an end to the ceremony; and even on the present occasion it was differently interpreted. The enemies of the Revolution whispered, that it was an indication that Heaven was displeased at what was going on; but others declared that, if Heaven was displeased, it could only be at the number of aristocrats, who by their presence profaned the ceremony. This interpretation

tion would have gained more credit if the aristocrats *only* had been drenched in the rain.

The Bishop proceeded to the celebration of the mass without any regard to the storm; after which he pronounced a benediction on the Oriflamme or Royal Standard of France, and on the eighty-three banners of the departments which waved around it immediately before the altar.

Considering how much pains had been taken, particularly by some of the chief promoters of the Revolution, to eradicate religious sentiments from the minds of the French people, it seems surprising that so many religious acts were interwoven with this ceremony. One part of this conduct precluded the effect that seems to have been expected from the other, and was as preposterous as that Monk's reasoning who, preaching on the good produced by religion in the world, said, " Enfin, mes amis, nous

venons du néant, nous rentrons dans le néant ; mais la religion console de tout \*."

The King had been appointed, for that day only, supreme and absolute commander of all the National Guards in France. He named M. La Fayette as his delegate to perform the functions ; so that La Fayette was for this day not only Commander in Chief of the National Guards of Paris, but High Constable of all the armed men in the kingdom, which probably was a greater number than ever had been in any kingdom in the world before.

M. La Fayette, as their representative, took the oath first. When he left the bottom of the throne where he had hitherto stood, and moved towards the altar for that purpose, the trumpets began to sound ; a vast band of martial music continued to

\* In short, my friends, we come from nothing ; we are to return to annihilation ; but religion is a comfort in all cases.

play

play while he ascended the steps of the altar. In the view of the multitude who filled this immense circus around, he laid the point of his sword upon the bible which was on the table of the altar, and raising his other hand towards the sky, the music ceased ; an universal stillness ensued ; and he pronounced, “ Nous jurons d’être à jamais fidèles à la Nation, à la Loi, et au Roi ; de maintenir, de tout nôtre pouvoir, la Constitution décrétée par l’Assemblée Nationale, et acceptée par le Roi\*.” The trumpets, beginning to sound as soon as he had finished, were drowned in the acclamation of *Vive la Nation !*

All the members of the National Assembly then standing up, the President pronounced the oath in his own name and that

\* We swear to be for ever faithful to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King ; to maintain, to the utmost of our power, the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the King.



of his bréthren ; which was in like manner followed by music and acclamation.

When the King himself arose, a great body of the National Guards pressed near the throne, which they surrounded with raised arms, while he repeated, “ Moi, Roi des François, je jure d’employer tout le pouvoir qui m’est délégué par la loi constitutionnelle de l’Etat, à maintenir la Constitution décrétée par l’Assemblée Nationale et acceptée par moi, et à faire exécuter les loix \*.”

A signal being given that the King had taken the oath, the air resounded with alternate peals of artillery and shouts of the people ; and thus ended a ceremony which,

\* I, King of the French, swear to employ all the power that is consigned to me by the constitutional law of the State, in maintaining the Constitution which has been decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me ; and I swear to put the laws in execution.

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notwithstanding the good intentions of many who took the oath, has been considered as the grandest and most extensive act of perjury that Heaven and Earth was ever witnesses to.

The rain prevented the King from leaving the throne and walking to the altar, where it was expected he would have taken the oath. This circumstance was afterwards mentioned in the seditious groups in the Palais Royal, and at the Jacobin Society, as a proof of the King's aversion to the Constitution, and his unwillingness to take the oath; but only proves, what a variety of circumstances indeed demonstrated in the progress of the Revolution, that there was a disposition to calumniate the King, and pervert the most innocent and most natural parts of his behaviour into crimes.

It will readily be believed that the new order of things was not generally relished

by the officers of the army. Most of them were prejudiced against the Constitution, as Noblesse; and, as Soldiers, the formation of the National Guards, and seeing men of different, and in their estimation far inferior professions, affecting the strut, assuming the command, and exacting the respect due to officers of the army, was to them highly mortifying.

The insulting vivacity of some young officers who attempted to ridicule the air of those of the National Guards, occasioned frequent quarrels and sometimes duels, in which the latter proved, that, if they were not equal to the former in smartness of air and appearance, they were however on a footing with them in point of courage.

This discovery diminished the quarrels and the number of duels, but did not entirely remove the prejudice which the ancient military officers had against these new national troops,

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The same spirit did not actuate the common soldiers of the army. Great pains had been taken from the beginning of the revolution to conciliate their minds to the new constitution. Those pains were not taken in vain. The soldiers were as well pleased with the appellation of citizen as their officers were averse to be put on a level with the officers of the National Guards: they soon became a little intoxicated with the attention paid to them, and they daily acquired ideas inconsistent with the regularity and subordination which become soldiers. The officers of course endeavoured to correct this tendency to licentiousness by every means they could devise: among others they tried to alienate their minds from the new system, as degrading to them as soldiers: they endeavoured to keep them from mixing with the National Guards, to introduce a stricter discipline, and severer punishments,

ments, and gave the men to understand that this severity was in conformity with orders from the National Assembly.

Such a spirit of discontent appeared in various divisions of the army in different parts of the kingdom, that Mirabeau, in conformity with that decisive conduct which his genius always prompted on great and perilous occasions, proposed that the army should be entirely disbanded, and a new one levied and organized, on the principles of the Constitution. Terrified at the boldness of this measure, the Assembly rejected it as rash and inexpedient.

In no town belonging to France were the opinions of the inhabitants respecting the revolution in more violent opposition to each other than at Nancy, the capital of Lorrain.

The Noblesse of this place were all averse to the revolution, the Bourgeoisie favoured it. The regiments which formed  
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the garrison were partly French and partly Swiss. The soldiers were taught by the citizens to consider their officers as aristocrats, as men who oppressed them, and who defrauded them of the arrears that were due. Pamphlets stating the grievances under which the soldiers laboured, and informing them of claims which they had a right to make, were distributed among the regiments. By these means the men were at length excited to make a formal demand of certain sums which they asserted had been long due to them ; the commanding officer refused the demand, and threatened those who made it with punishment ; on which the men broke out into open insurrection, seized the military chest, and sent a deputation from the different regiments to Paris to state the injustice which they said had been done, and demand redress.

But a statement of the transactions had been previously made by the commander  
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and other officers of the garrison, which arrived at Paris, and was delivered to the Minister of War, who gave such an account of the matter to M. Bailly the Mayor, as induced him to grant an order for arresting the deputies from the soldiers as soon as they arrived.

In consequence of a representation made to the National Assembly by M. de la Tour du Pin, at that time Minister of War, which stated the mutinous lengths to which the garrison of Nancy had proceeded, and the dangerous example they gave to the army, the Assembly passed a decree ordering the Marquis de Bouillé, who was commander in chief of the troops at Metz and on all that frontier, to march with a proper force to Nancy, and to suppress the insurgents.

M. de Bouillé executed his orders with the intelligence of an experienced officer who knows the importance of promptitude  
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in military manœuvres, particularly such as are directed against a mischief so apt to increase by delay as mutiny.

He arrived much sooner than was expected before Nancy, with an army composed of National Guards as well as troops of the line.

He immediately sent information that he came in obedience to a decree of the National Assembly sanctioned by the King, to re-establish order in the town of Nancy—that as a proof of their submission, he exacted that Messrs. Malseigne and De Noue, two general officers whom the insurgents had thrown into prison, should be directly set at liberty and sent to him—that four of the most criminal of each of the revolting regiments should be delivered up to him, that they might be sent under a guard to the National Assembly to be judged by them—and that the garrison should immediately



evacuate the town, and wait his orders at a certain meadow near it.

There was some appearance at first that those conditions would be submitted to. MM. de Malseigne and de Noue, after a considerable dispute among the mutineers; during which both the gentlemen ran a great risk of being killed, arrived safe at M. de Bouillé's army.

But when the advanced guard were about to enter the town, the soldiers of the garrison who were stationed at the gate, suspecting that they were betrayed, obstinately refused to obey those who had agreed to accept of the conditions ; on which they were joined by many who had previously consented to submit. Some of the garrison who wished to retire were prevented by those who had resolved to resist ; and who, when summoned to submit by the troops now within thirty yards of the gate, answered

swered with threats, and prepared to fire a cannon charged with grape shot upon the assailants.

A young officer of the name of Désilles, who belonged to the Régiment du Roi, had been extremely active in his endeavours to persuade them to submission. This young man, being shocked at the idea of that scene of bloodshed which was about to commence, and inspired by heroic enthusiasm, threw himself before the mouth of the cannon as they were applying the match, exclaiming, “ Stop, for heaven’s sake ! Those are your friends, your brethren, whom you are going to destroy : they are sent by the National Assembly ; shall the King’s regiment be dishonoured ? ” This prevented the immediate firing of the piece. Two persons, deputed by M. Bouillé, threw their arms around his neck, and joined their efforts with his to prevent the commencement of hostilities.

These Deputies entered the town, carrying young Désilles with them; the troops of the garrison and those of M. de Bouillé remaining in awful inactivity, regarding each other with threatening looks till the effect of the message brought by the Deputies should be known.

Instead of being agreed to, the terms offered were rejected; the Deputies insulted and abused by the furious Council to which they were presented. When the young Désilles saw this, he rushed again between the mutineers and the advanced guard, and fell pierced by several musket shot, while he was entreating both parties to abstain from mutual slaughter.

The cannon charged with grape was immediately fired, accompanied with a discharge of musketry, which killed three officers and a considerable number of M. de Bouillé's troops; others advancing forced the gate and entered the town. Many of  
them

them were killed from the windows. The insurgents, however, were driven from house to house ; and a dreadful scene of carnage ensued. Three hundred were killed or wounded ; four hundred were made prisoners with arms in their hands ; the rest laid down their arms, and submitted to the orders of M. de Bouillé, who sent them under escorts to different garrisons.

The first accounts of these transactions occasioned amazement and sorrow at Paris. Those sensations were, by the industry of the seditious, soon converted into rage against M. de Bouillé ; though, had he been less alert, and had the mutiny gained vigour in consequence of his inactivity, the same persons would in all probability have raised an outcry against him for not doing that which they now blamed him for having done.

Whatever regret the National Assembly

might feel at the result of this affair, they were not so much affected by it, nor by the rage of the populace, as to be prevented from publicly approving the conduct of a man who had obeyed their orders with greater expedition and efficacy than they had reason to expect. They voted the thanks of the Assembly to M. de Bouillé and the troops which served under him.

This vote, however, did not diminish the rage of the Parisian populace, who loudly exclaimed against M. de Bouillé for having shed so much blood, as they said, unnecessarily. Vast numbers assembled in the Palais Royal, from whence they went, and, surrounding the hall of the National Assembly, demanded his head, and the dismissal of the Ministers, whom they accused of having by misrepresentations betrayed the Assembly into the fatal decree under which he had acted.

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This spirit of sedition seemed to augment every moment, and would probably have produced very dreadful effects, had it not been for the steady conduct of M. La Fayette and the National Guards acting under his orders.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*M. Necker retires—Reflections on that Event—Inveteracy of the French against Ministers of State and Ecclesiastics—Long Habit more necessary to acquire Excellence in bodily than in mental Exertions—The National Assembly insists that the King shall sanction their Decree, obliging the Clergy to take the Oath to the Constitution—The Pope disapproves of it—The Effect this has on the Minds of the People—The King's Aunts determine to leave France and go to Rome.*

**M.** NECKER, who had for some time seen the decline of his popularity, and had already received several mortifying proofs that his influence in the National Assembly was greatly diminished, became alarmed for his personal safety ; for in the popular outcry against the Ministers, no exception

exception was made in his favour. He thought proper, therefore, to send a letter with his resignation to the Assembly, on the pretext that his health required retreat and country air. Immediately after it was read, several members called for the order of the day; which is usually done when the matter actually under consideration is thought unworthy of their attention.

M. Necker had lent above two millions of livres to the public treasury, which his friends had often advised him to withdraw and place in greater security; but he had always refused; and, on his leaving Paris, he declared that he had left that sum, with his hotel and furniture, as pledges for the faithfulness of his administration.

Several of the sections of Paris actually assembled, on purpose to determine whether or not he ought to be permitted to leave the kingdom before his accounts were examined and approved; for he had now so entirely



lost his popularity, that those very Parisians who a few months before had considered him as the guardian angel of France, now questioned whether all the fortune which he left behind would indemnify the Nation for the money of which he had defrauded it. But Mirabeau, Camus, and others, who were fully convinced of M. Necker's integrity, and, sufficiently sensible of the mutability of public opinion, had long wished him out of France, interposed with the sections, and prevented any opposition from being made to his departure.

The calumnies of M. Necker's enemies were not confined to Paris: they were circulated all over France. He had not proceeded on his journey above forty leagues until he was stopped by the municipal officers of a small town. They disregarded his passports, and still more a particular letter from the King which he also shewed them. They insisted that he should remain where he was until  
they

they received instructions from the National Assembly. He and Madame Necker were accordingly guarded like State prisoners, until two Deputies from the Municipality returned from Paris with the permission of the Assembly for their being set at liberty.

Before they were out of France, they were again stopped, not by the Magistrates but by the populace of Vesoul, who, after a number of insults, examining their papers and every article in their trunks, and detaining them several hours in the dread of some greater violence, reluctantly allowed them to proceed on the journey at last, although they could find nothing on which to found a pretext for detaining them.

In this manner was M. Necker obliged to fly from the country, where he had but a few months before been almost adored—a man whose exile a short time before had excited universal regret; who, although a Protestant and a foreigner, had enjoyed the

confidence of the Nation more than any Roman Catholic Minister, who was also a native, ever had done : and, what makes the capricious fickleness of the French appear in a stronger point of view, is, that no change of system or political conduct on the part of M. Necker occasioned this sudden alteration of their opinion. Neither his fidelity nor his diligence was ever called in question ; and there is strong reason for believing that his earnest wish and supreme ambition were to arrange the finances of France ; to establish a government free from the tyranny of the old one, and which should guard with impartiality the liberties of the People and the dignity of the Crown. The great error into which both he and the Nation fell, but for which he was more excusable than the Nation, was imagining that he had genius and talents to accomplish such an undertaking ; for, however strange it may seem, nothing is more certain than that the public over-rated

over-rated M. Necker's abilities as much as he himself did. But so many of mankind think highly of themselves without any other mortal to keep them in countenance, that the man who has an exalted notion of his own abilities, knowing that the world in general are of the same way of thinking, may be excused, although both he and the world are mistaken. M. Necker is accused of being ostentatious and vain ; but if a man maintains perfect integrity towards the public, is benevolent towards individuals, fulfils the relative duties of life conscientiously, and strives to be useful to mankind, is it not ungenerous to insist so much on his vanity ? Would it not be fortunate for mankind, if many more of them had the same kind of vanity ?

The uprightness of men's intentions seldom saves them from the enmity of those who think they have suffered by their measures. M. Necker has been abused by one party

party in France for attempting any alteration whatever in the government ; and by another, for not pushing reformation much farther than he did ; and that nation in general, after having ranked him among their ablest Politicians and greatest Ministers, seem now to consider him as little above the level of common Bankers or Comptrollers of Finance.

It has been often observed, that great occasions and hazardous situations have a tendency to create and develop talents ; and of course that times of revolution and important struggles in States are the most productive of great men. It is asserted by some, however, that this French Revolution forms a contradiction to the general observation respecting the tendency of revolutions, inasmuch as, although it has occasioned a long and severe struggle, and given rise to very great crimes, yet it has not produced one man who can be with

propriety called *great*, even allowing that wickedness did not preclude from the title.

Without entering into that discussion, it must be acknowledged that, if the French Revolution has not given rise to any great men, it has had an effect more extraordinary and unexpected; having entirely overset and annihilated the greatness of more men than any other revolution ever did. To enumerate instances would be equally superfluous and invidious; as, without including the great men of France itself whom the Revolution has converted into little men, the recollection of every reader at all acquainted with the modern history of Europe, must furnish instances of Generals as well as of Statesmen, who were supposed to have secured ample and conspicuous places in the gallery of Fame, but whose greatness has dwindled so wonderfully in the course of this revolution, that it is now generally believed they will be exhibited only

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as miniatures. So that, in the loss of the admiration he at one time possessed, M. Necker has many fellow-sufferers.

Except the Clergy, no set of men have been treated with so much severity by the French since the Revolution as their Ministers of State. It would seem as if that people had conceived a rancour against all who presumed to govern either their souls or bodies. In this, as in many other particulars, their conduct is the reverse of the English, who have always behaved to their Clergy with the respect due to their characters and sacred functions; have on all occasions heaped riches and honours on those Statesmen, whose fortunate or wise administration has rendered the country prosperous; and in many instances have behaved to those who from negligence or error have involved it in distress, with a degree of patience and forbearance which astonishes all other nations.

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M. La Tour du Pin was obliged to resign soon after the retreat of M. Necker. His example was followed by all his colleagues in administration, except M. de Montmorin. M. Delessart, the disciple and friend of M. Necker, was joined to M. de Montmorin as part of the new administration. Both were men of principle, though neither were popular; and both afterwards were the victims of popular rage and cruelty; M. Delessart, with the prisoners from Orleans who were slaughtered at Versailles without having ever had any trial; M. de Montmorin at Paris, after he had been tried and acquitted.

Nothing is a more general subject of ridicule than for people who have not been bred to a particular profession to presume to have knowledge in it, or to hold opinions contrary to those of men of the profession who are supposed to have studied the subject. The folly of this is pretty univer-



fully allowed when the case is stated in general ; but it is astonishing what a number think themselves individually exceptions to the general rule, and make no scruple of disputing with a physician on medicine, with a barrister on law, or even with a clergyman on divinity ; while they laugh at any other person who like themselves has not been educated to those professions for doing the same. The maxim, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, seems more just, however, when applied to such professions as require mechanical exertion only, than when applied to such as require exertions of the mind : for long habit is more necessary for the attainment of excellence in the mechanical arts, than in those which depend on the power and extent of the understanding. A man, however ingenious, who would attempt to make a common chair without having been bred a carpenter, would certainly succeed much worse than one accus-

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tomed to the trade, though far his inferior in ingenuity; because the power of using the fingers and applying the tools with dexterity is to be acquired by frequent use and long habit only. The experience of every person who can write is a strong proof of this; and though a man has been making use of his fingers all his life, and can do it with dexterity to some particular purposes, yet when he applies them to a purpose he never before attempted, he will do it clumsily until he has rendered them pliable and obedient to his intention by habit. But the mind is more flexible than the muscles. A man who has been in the habit of reflecting and reasoning all his life will reason better, even on a new subject, than another of a narrower understanding who has been accustomed to investigate it. Few things are supposed to require a greater number of talents, and more strength of understanding, than the art of commanding an army and conducting

conducting a campaign ; yet the late American war and the present war with France in a still more striking manner demonstrate, that it is not absolutely necessary to be bred to the military profession to enable men of great natural acuteness and strong understanding to excel in it.

The business of a Statesman is thought, above all others, to require superior talents and much experience ; yet the first have been found to succeed without the second. Instances might be given of the affairs of a great nation being conducted for a series of years in the most prosperous manner by men of little or no experience, and whose measures were not rendered more prosperous by experience when it was acquired. From the behaviour of the French at this time, a man might have been led to infer that it really was their opinion that experience was rather detrimental to a Statesman ; for the members of the National Assembly who  
had

had least experience in affairs of State were convinced that they could govern the country better than the Ministers; and the coffee-house orators, the groups of the Palais Royal, and people in the tribunes, who had no experience at all, seemed fully persuaded that they could form better decrees than the members of the National Assembly, who had had the experience of two years. The severe decrees which the Assembly passed against the Clergy, however, were so far from being of the number of those which displeased the people, that they were the most approved of; and it must seem surprising that a class of men, distinguished for their power over the minds of the people, should have lost it so completely at a period when it was so much their interest to retain it. In vain did the moderate part of the National Assembly represent those decrees as unjust; and in vain did some insinuate that they were impious.

The violent harangues of those who were inveterate enemies of the Clergy, made more impression on the minds of the populace than all the remonstrances of the others; which was probably owing to the small hold that religious sentiments had on the minds of a certain portion of the people; from another portion considering the cause of religion and the pecuniary interest of the Clergy as unconnected; and thirdly, from the demagogues representing that by the decrees in question the people would reap immediate benefit; whereas the benefits which the Clergy held forth to them as the consequence of opposing those decrees, were to be reaped at a distant period and in another world.

It had been enacted in July 1790, that every beneficed clergyman should take a solemn oath to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, the King, and to maintain the new Constitution, particularly those decrees which  
regarded

regarded ecclesiastics. This regulation, however, had not been strongly enforced, and was in a short time almost entirely neglected; but when the Clergy were universally accused of counter-revolutionary practices, it was resolved that this decree should be executed with rigour all over the kingdom; and that those who refused or neglected to take the oath should be ejected from their benefices, and suffer other penalties.

It would have been more prudent as well as more equitable to have appointed no penalty or punishment, except to such as actually excited the people to insurrection. The exacting such an oath unquestionably was persecution; and it produced the effect which persecution never fails to produce: it roused the spirit of enthusiastic resistance. Several ecclesiastics who would have submitted to the Constitution, and refrained from any active part against it, could not prevail on themselves to take

this oath. Some who would have had no scruple in taking it from any conscientious or pious motive, refused ; because they could not bear the idea of passing for base-minded time-servers, which they imagined they should be deemed, if they took it in the present circumstances. Many waited till they should be informed of the Pope's decision before they determined whether they should take or refuse the oath. The King himself had delayed to sanction this severe decree till he should know his Holiness's approbation ; which Cardinal Bernis, the King's ambassador at Rome, was instructed to apply for.

This was a requisition which it cannot be thought the Ambassador would be very eager to urge, or the Pope very prompt to grant, in the manner expected by the National Assembly.

In the meanwhile, as the disturbances in the provinces augmented, and were generally

rally imputed to the manœuvres of the Clergy, the National Assembly appointed that their President should wait on the King, and require his reasons in writing, signed by himself and countersigned by the Minister, of the delay in sanctioning the decree : on which the King thought proper to sanction the decree without waiting for the approbation of his Holiness ; and at the same time he wrote a very complaisant letter to the Assembly, in which he declares that his only reason for having delayed sanctioning this decree against the Clergy was, an earnest wish that some less severe measure could have been devised ; and that he agreed to it then, in the hopes that his shewing the world that he and the National Assembly were of the same sentiments would preclude future resistance to the decree, and quiet the agitation of people's minds on that subject.

It is evident, however, from this very



answer, that the King and National Assembly were not precisely of the same sentiments.

The Pope soon afterwards declared his disapprobation of the oath; which determined many of the Clergy to refuse it who had remained until then in suspense; but did not prevent all those who refused the oath from being ejected from their benefices, and others appointed in their stead.

As the oath was considered by some as perjury, being in their opinion a breach of that which they had taken at their ordination; and as the Pope had now declared his positive disapprobation of it, a refusal of it by Roman Catholic Clergy, in a Roman Catholic country, could not, in candour, be construed into a proof of a seditious spirit, or of rebellious designs against the existing government; and therefore the cruelty and injustice of depriving them of their livings for refusing it appears in a striking light; particularly as some of the Clergy offered to  
overleap

overleap other difficulties, and take the oath, provided it should not be construed so as to imply their admission of any spiritual authority in the Assembly. But even this salvo was refused to them.

The enforcing of this decree was a source of unhappiness not only to the excluded Clergy but likewise to the most pious of the people, whose consciences did not permit them to receive the Sacrament at the hands of Priests whom they thought unworthy of administering it; for the Pope's interdiction, which was treated with contempt by the licentious populace of Paris, was viewed in a very serious light by the sober and superstitious peasantry of the provinces. When it was urged to one of them that he ought to have no scruple at receiving the Sacrament from a Priest who had taken the oath, since the King himself had sanctioned the decree, " My body," said the peasant,

“ belongs to the King; but my soul belongs  
“ to the Pope.”

In the full persuasion that so valuable a part of his property was at the Pope's disposal, it is not surprising that this poor man was cautious of doing what his Holiness disapproved of. But, laudable as this peasant's conduct was, what is recorded of another is still more praise-worthy, and infinitely more disinterested. One of his neighbours having reproached him for having had his child baptised by a Priest just established in the parish, who had taken the oath, instead of applying to the former Curé who had been ejected: “ Why, my child seemed very weakly,” replied the peasant; “ and I was so much afraid of its dying without baptism, that I took the first Priest I could get to secure the poor infant's soul at all events.” “ But after what the Pope has declared,” said his neighbour, “ does  
not

not your own soul run some risk, for having employed one of those impious Priests who disobey his Holiness?" " I have time to repent and get absolution," rejoined the peasant ; " whereas my poor innocent babe was in danger of slipping off in an instant without baptism or any chance of salvation \*."

The view of the National Assembly in enforcing the oath, and in ejecting from their benefices all who refused it, no doubt was to deprive those persons of the government of the Church who were disaffected to the Revolution, and to place it in the hands of men who could have no hopes of retaining their situation but by supporting it. Nevertheless it seemed impolitic to strike at

\* Before the Revolution it was a received opinion even among the populace, that the ceremony of baptism is valid although performed by a heretic ; but at this period some of the peasantry were made to believe that to employ a Priest who had taken the oaths was a mortal sin.

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the whole body of the Clergy at once, and so unite in one common cause four distinct sets of men who acted on very different principles from each other—namely, those who objected to the oath from motives of pure piety ; those who objected, from strict notions of church authority ; those who, without having much regard for either, had a persuasion that the government would soon be restored to its antient channel ; and fourthly, those who had a repugnance from taking the oath, merely because they knew it would be imputed to mean and interested motives.

Of one hundred and thirty-one Bishops, two or three only were prevailed on to conform to the decree of the Assembly, and preserve their bishopricks at the expence of taking the oath. All the rest were ejected from their benefices.

So striking an act of severity against a body of men of such importance, and of an order

order who have had the most powerful influence on the minds of the people, might have been dreaded by any government, but particularly by one so loose and unsettled as that of France at this time.

The sending of five Bishops to the Tower in the year 1688 shocked the English Nation to such a degree, that it facilitated the Revolution, and prepared the minds of the people for the exclusion of King James, which followed soon after. That infatuated Monarch, it is true, raised the spirit of the people against him not only by attacking *their* religion, but also by endeavouring to force upon them another religion which they detested; and the last perhaps created full as much indignation as the former.

This is an error of which the leaders of the French Revolution cannot be accused; for, although all of them have in some degree contributed to weaken the national at-

tachment to their old religion, none of them have taken pains to introduce a new one. Yet after all that has been so triumphantly declaimed and written by them against their Bishops and Priests and Monks, and the religion which they taught, it does not appear that the minds of the people are much enlightened, their manners more amiable, or the national character greatly improved by the abolition of all those abettors of ignorance and error.

The King's two aunts, the only remaining daughters of Lewis XV. now considerably advanced in life, had been long distressed at the innovations of which they had already been witnesses, and alarmed at the thoughts of others which they dreaded. Notwithstanding their having been bred in a licentious court, and witnesses of the profligate life of their father, they both entertained strong sentiments of devotion. Lewis XV. himself had been a constant attendant

tender on public worship, assiduous in private acts of devotion, and a sincere believer in christianity ; all that he wished to compound for was the privilege of infringing its precepts ; and that only during those periods in which he was in good health ; for it appears that when he was ill at Metz, and at other intervals of severe indisposition, he was prevailed upon by his confessor to dismiss his mistress, and, notwithstanding his high rank, to live in the same degree of temperance and self-denial that could have been expected from any common sick person ; so that, on the whole, he considered himself as a tolerably good Christian. The Princesses, who could not alter the conduct of their father, had always lamented it, and practised the precepts of the religion in which he only believed. They were now excessively shocked at the cruelty with which the Ministers of religion were treated, and that



universal disregard of all religion which prevailed in France ; but when they understood that his Holiness had openly declared against the oath which the National Assembly were enforcing, they began to think that not their lives only, but also their salvation, would be in danger by their remaining in a country where such impiety was tolerated. They therefore informed the King that they intended to leave France, and go to Rome, where under the Pope's protection they might be peaceably allowed to exercise the duties, and enjoy the consolations, of their religion. The King endeavoured to dissuade them from this journey ; but did not think it proper to put any constraint upon them when he found that they persisted in their intention.

The populace of Paris were not so indulgent as the King. They now thought that they had a right to interfere in all State affairs, and also to consider whatever they pleased

pleased as an affair of State. A numerous deputation from that body of females known by the name of Dames de la Halle, waited on the Princesses at Bellevue; and, in the expectation that they would obtain what had been refused to the King, communicated to them the reasons which in their opinion ought to determine the Princesses not to quit the kingdom. This deputation probably hastened the departure of the Princesses, who set out on their journey very soon afterwards.

This was no sooner known at Paris than it excited a commotion far greater than could have been naturally expected from the occasion.

A rumour having been spread that *Monsieur* the King's brother, and his Princess, intended to follow his aunts, a multitude assembled at the palace of the Luxembourg to entreat him to stay. He thought it expedient to appear among them, and assure them

them that he had no intention of leaving Paris ; adding, that he never would quit his fellow-citizens : from which it may be concluded, that he did not consider the inhabitants of Paris as his fellow-citizens ; for he secretly quitted them some time after, and has not returned to them since.

When the two Princesses arrived at Moret, the Municipality of that place thought it improper to allow them to proceed any farther until a deputation should be sent to Paris, to know whether or not their journey was approved of by the National Assembly.

The Princesses would have been obliged to remain at Moret till the return of this deputation, had not a detachment of hussars which arrived about the same time thought that they had as good a right to decide on this subject as the Municipality of Moret ; and they determined that the Princesses should be allowed to go when they pleased.

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The Princesses proceeded accordingly. But when they arrived at Arnay-le-Duc, the Municipality of that place were of the same opinion with that of Moret ; and the unfortunate ladies were under the necessity of remaining there until the National Assembly should be consulted. The Ambassadors from Arnay-le-Duc came to the bar of the National Assembly at a time when, as it would appear, the members were much in the humour of debating, and greatly at a loss for a subject. After a warm discussion of many hours, it was finally decreed, that the two old ladies might continue their journey to Rome without farther molestation.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Death and Character of Mirabeau—Insurrection of the Populace of Paris—Chevaliers du Poignard—The Royal Family stopped as they were going to St. Cloud—Reflections—Excessive Insolence of the Rabble—Société Fraternelle—Libels.*

**A**BOUT this time Mirabeau died. He had been prevented from appearing in the National Assembly for some time by a sudden decline of his bodily strength ; but his mind, retaining its vigour to the last, was occupied during his confinement on the public concerns. Even on his death-bed he dictated his thoughts on a subject then under discussion by the Assembly. What he had dictated was read to the Assembly by  
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the Bishop of Autun on the very day that the death of Mirabeau was announced.

The excesses in which he had indulged overcame the force of a very vigorous constitution, and brought him to his grave at the age of forty-two.

His mind was vigorous, comprehensive, and acute. With the quickness of thought, variety of knowledge, and happiness of expression which constitutes eloquence, he also possessed that power of voice which is necessary to give it full effect in a numerous assembly. To a talent for repartee he joined the powers of profound reasoning: so that he was equally prepared to disconcert his opponent with sarcasm, or to refute him by the force of argument.

Although his features were harsh and his person clumsy, he had the art of rendering himself agreeable to women—an art which he too often used to libertine purposes, and, as it is asserted, with greater success than

many whose intentions were equally profligate, and their persons better formed for seduction.

His excessive love of pleasure would have tended to render him completely dissipated, and of course left him ignorant, had he not employed the long intervals of confinement and retirement that his debauches and his want of money obliged him to, in studies which, with better health and more riches, he would have neglected.

Had he become an early favourite at Court, and been placed in those high and lucrative situations that his birth and talents gave him a claim to, he might have been satisfied to have remained a mere courtier, and supporter of that oppressive and arbitrary system, against which he inveighed so violently and which he attacked with such energy. His tedious imprisonments and the hardships he suffered, sometimes in consequence of his own irregularities, and sometimes  
from

from the tyranny of others; inspired him with sympathy for the oppressed, hatred against lettres de cachet, an unconquerable aversion to tyranny, and a fervent desire of establishing freedom in his native country.

As Mirabeau was a man of violent passions, he was on some occasions carried by his resentment to oppose the measures of the Ministers which his judgment approved; and on other occasions there is reason to believe that he accepted of considerable sums from the Court to support measures in the National Assembly, which, independent of that circumstance, he would have supported as agreeable to his own political principles. The question on the King's absolute veto—for the Ministers being members of the National Assembly—and some others, in favour of which he spoke with great ability, and at the risk of his popularity, were of this nature. This conduct was no doubt highly unbecoming, and gives



some ground for the idea which many entertain, that he was as corrupt in politics as profligate in private life. It does not appear, however, that he ever lent his aid to any public measure inconsistent with his own ideas of liberty, and his avowed love of a monarchical form of government limited by law\*."

Mirabeau has been represented in the

\* It is recorded of the famous Marshal Turenne, that when he commanded the French army in Germany, deputies from a certain town came to his camp, and offered him an hundred thousand crowns, on condition that he would not march his army through their territory. "As your town is not on the route which I intend to take," said he, "I cannot in conscience accept the money you offer."

Mirabeau in the same situation would certainly not have acted in the disinterested and dignified manner that Marshal Turenne did; nor will his general character bear a comparison with that of the Marshal; yet I question if Mirabeau would, in obedience to the orders of Lewis XIV, have ravaged and ruined the Palatinate.

blackest

blackest and most disgusting colours ; but these accounts are to be received with caution and reserve ; for, as few men have ever united in their character so many of those qualities which are apt to create enmity, so few men ever had so many enemies. As an active agent in bringing on the Revolution, he was hated by all the friends of the old system of government. As a friend to monarchy, he was disliked by those who wished to have a republican form of government in France. As an avowed free-thinker, he shocked the pious, and was traduced by the hypocritical. As a man of wit, he was dreaded and detested by the dull ; and as his talents for conducting a popular assembly were unequalled, he was an object of envy to all who aspired to be leaders in the Revolution.

His death was an irreparable loss to the Royal Family ; for there is reason to think, that, had he lived, those who have since

his death figured as principals in the Revolution would have acted very subordinate parts. His superior talents and address would have given such energy to the first movements of the new Constitution as would have precluded the attempts of the Republicans against it on the one hand, and those of the abettors of the old government on the other. The friends of limited monarchy would have united; the wisest of the Courtiers would have remained contented with the degree of power left in the King's hands; the democrates would have been satisfied with the share of democracy which belonged to the Constitution; many of the Gironde party would have rallied under Mirabeau; such wretches as Hebert and Chaumette would never have been heard of; Marat would have been condemned and executed; and Robespierre would never have had it in his power to commit those crimes which have deluged

France with blood, shocked all Europe, and disgraced human nature. Mirabeau himself imagined, that he could have preserved the Constitution ; but he foresaw its destruction in his death ; and a little before he expired, he predicted that the French monarchy would not survive him long.

Whatever enmity had existed against Mirabeau among the leaders of the different factions during his life, all seemed disposed to pay public honours to his memory after his death. Those demanded by the various sections, and decreed by the National Assembly, with the magnificence of his funeral, are proofs of this. As for the attachment of the Parisian populace, it does him little honour, since they shewed the same, or greater, to so very despicable a being as Marat.

The importance of the audience who occupied the galleries of the National Assembly,

bly, and of the populace of Paris, increased more rapidly after the death of Mirabeau than it had done before ; and although he was one of those who had wished the Assembly to be removed from Versailles to Paris, yet, if he had lived, he would have had reason to regret that the measure had been adopted; for, although Mirabeau had greater talents than any of his contemporaries for guiding a popular Assembly such as that of the Convention, men far inferior to him, the Heberts and Chaumettes, and particularly the Marats, were better qualified for exciting the furious unthinking rabble.

It is impossible to unfold the motives of every insurrection which occurred during the Revolution. Some which were begun in consequence of a premeditated plan failed and came to nothing, from the error or weakness of the conductors. Some arose from mere accident, independent of any formed

formed scheme, and became formidable from being thought the result of profound design and extensive conspiracy.

A rumour prevailed that the castle of Vincennes was intended to replace the Bastille ; that arms and ammunition had been secretly conveyed thither ; and that it deserved destruction just as much as its brother, whose Gothic brows had for so many years frowned over the suburbs of St. Antoine. Whether this idea originated in the brains of the rabble from no other motive than their inherent taste for confusion and mischief, or was suggested by men who had some view in it which afterwards failed, is uncertain ; but on the 28th of February a large body of men set out from that patriotic suburb, with the avowed intention of destroying the castle of Vincennes.

The Mayor of Vincennes, having had notice of this, demanded assistance ; and a detachment of National Guards, consisting  
of

of cavalry and infantry, were immediately sent, and drawn up for the protection of the castle. But those who were bent on its destruction were at pains to persuade the national troops, that no castle was more worthy of entire demolition; that it would be disgraceful for them to attempt to prevent it. By dint of these remonstrances, the National Guards became more disposed to assist than to repel the demolishers.

M. La Fayette having heard that the work of destruction was begun, and the troops passive, repaired to Vincennes, expostulated with the soldiers, and brought them to a sense of their duty.

He then ordered them to attack the rabble without firing on them. Sixty were seized, and the rest dispersed. Many of them ran to the fauxbourg St. Antoine to excite the populace to release the prisoners. The General being told that it would be dangerous to march through that quarter of Paris,

as the people were in insurrection, placed the prisoners in the middle, some field pieces in front, and marched his troops, with some municipal officers at the head of the column, directly through the suburbs to the Town-house ; and while the mob insulted his troops with their exclamations, and even wounded one of his aides-de-camp and some of the soldiers by throwing stones, he lodged the prisoners in the Conciergerie without farther bloodshed.

That very morning a man had been observed loitering in the palace of the Tuileries near the King's apartment ; which had roused the suspicions of some of the attendants, who had him seized and carried before the Mayor. This occasioned a great deal of noise, and, as usual, was exaggerated with many circumstances unfounded in truth : among others, that concealed weapons had been found on him, particularly  
a dagger



a dagger or poniard of uncommon and rancorous construction.

When this person had been represented all over Paris as a desperate assassin, and the dreadful make of his poniard described by many who pretended they had seen it, his examination before the Mayor rendered it evident that he was a gentleman of an excellent character, called M. Court de la Tonnelle, who had business with some one belonging to the Palace, where he had frequently been; and that his concealed poniard was a couteau de chasse, much in fashion, which he wore *openly* hanging from his belt. This account of the matter travelled very slowly in comparison of the other; and did not prevent a number of gentlemen from immediately repairing to the Tuileries, armed with swords and pistols; all declaring that, having heard that his Majesty's life was in danger, they came  
with

with the loyal resolution of exposing their own lives in defence of his.

When M. La Fayette returned from his expedition to Vincennes, he was informed that there had been a great disturbance at the Tuileries ; and that the apartments were filled with several hundred armed men, who had been admitted, at a private door, by the First Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, and unknown to the National Guards on duty at the palace.

The General expressed his disapprobation of this measure in sharp terms, declaring that he could not be answerable for the King's safety, if any thing similar happened again. The King himself is said to have blamed the indiscreet zeal of those gentlemen ; and, to satisfy the National Guards, who were peculiarly irritated at men who pretended to interfere with them in a point which was their particular business, he permitted

mitted that the intruders should be disarmed and dismissed.

This ceremony was performed a little roughly by the National Guards—to the great displeasure of many, who thought such treatment an ungrateful return for the zeal the gentlemen had manifested ; while others asserted that this pretended zeal was a mere affectation of loyalty, when the danger, if ever there had been any, must have been known to be passed ; and as some of those volunteers were unknown to the Noblesse themselves, or known to be roturiers, they were considered by them as highly impertinent, in displaying an attachment to the King's person which their birth gave them no right to—Like the poor woman who, when the famous Duchess of Longueville, sister to the great Condé, was dangerously ill, came bathed in tears, and with every mark of sorrow begged to know how the  
Duchess

Duchefs did; but the Duchefs's favourite maid, being filled with indignation at the presumptuous grief of the woman, thrust her out of doors, telling her, " that it was the height of assurance in a low creature like her to be afflicted, or at all concerned, for the ill health of a Princess."

In permitting those to be disarmed who had hastened to the palace on the first rumour of an assassin having been discovered, it is evident that the King yielded to what he could not prevent; for, whether their assembling in the palace was indiscreet or not, their intention apparently was to be of service to him; and it was only to spare their delicacy, and to prevent their refusing to deliver up their arms at the requisition of the National Guards, and the mischief which must have ensued, that the King had interfered, and desired the arms to be delivered up, which was done on the assurance of their being afterwards restored to the owners—

notwithstanding which, some of the swords were broken in the King's fight ; and this assembling at the palace was so maliciously misrepresented, that it became dangerous in a very short time to claim those that remained ; and such was the industry of faction, that an incident which derived its source from the anxiety of some individuals for the King's safety was entirely turned to his prejudice. It was even asserted, " that those persons who had assembled at the Tuileries, on the pretext of defending the person of the King, were armed with the same kind of poniard that had been found on the man first seized ; that they were all decided aristocrats, united in a conspiracy to take the first opportunity of carrying off the King and Royal Family ; that hearing of M. La Fayette's marching with such a body of the National Guards to Vincennes, they had hopes of putting their scheme in execution during his absence ; but had been disappointed

disappointed by the alertness of the national troops who were on duty at the palace, who had refused to quit their post on that memorable day, and had continued to do their duty with the party who came to relieve them until the General returned from Vincennes."

As this construction was not very probable in itself, and was supported by no evidence whatever, it was thought necessary to give it credibility by a new kind of testimony. A number of prints were engraved, representing a poniard with hooks and angles on one side, for tearing and torturing in withdrawing the instrument after having used it in stabbing. Along with the print was an inscription, indicating that this was a true and faithful representation of the poniard found on the assassin seized in the palace, and on many of the aristocrats who had also been seized and disarmed by the National Guards on the same

evening. And from this time all the Nobleſſe and others, who went regularly to the Tuileries to pay their duty to the King or any of the Royal Family, were denominated by the populace *Chevaliers du Peignard*. In this manner a jealousy of the King, and a prejudice againſt all who ſhewed a particular attachment to him, was kept up in the minds of the Pariſian populace.

Lewis XVI. had always been of a pious turn of mind; and the general tenor of his life, unlike that of his grandfather, was not in oppoſition to the religion which he profefſed.

Religious impreſſions, it is likely, were felt by him with augmented ſenſibility on account of the troubles and dangers with which he and his family were ſurrounded.

Numbers of eccleſiaſtics frequented the Palais of the Tuileries—it was ſaid that thoſe who had reſuſed to take the oaths decreed by the National Aſſembly were received

ceived with greater signs of cordiality than the others.

If it was impolitic in the King to *show* any predilection for the former, it was nevertheless very natural for him to *feel* it. It would probably arise from a sentiment of compassion mixed with esteem for men who had been deprived of their benefices for no other reason than that they chose to obey the dictates of conscience rather than those of interest.

It is possible that some of the clergy who took the oath may have acted as conscientiously as the others; but when one set of men sacrifice their fortune rather than do what is required of them, and another set make their fortune by doing it, the world generally admire and honour the former more than the latter.

It was not so in this instance : the violent spirit of party and political faction destroys every sentiment of candour. The men who



gave the strongest proof that men can give, of being directed by conscience and integrity, became the objects of popular execration, and those who might have been so naturally suspected of acting from base and sordid motives were regarded as patriots. The preference which the King was said to give to the former was made use of by factious men as a cause of clamour, and was represented to the people as a proof of his being an enemy to the Constitution.

The King had formed the design of passing the Easter holidays at St. Cloud. He wished to be somewhat removed from the noise and tumult of the capital, while he was engaged in the duties of religion.

The Monarch's intentions were no sooner known, than rumours were spread with great assiduity, that he wished to go to St. Cloud, that he might have the sacrament administered by unconstitutional priests, and that he

might arrange matters for withdrawing to a greater distance from the capital, and raising a civil war ; or perhaps in the view of leaving the kingdom, and stirring up his brother Kings to make war against France.

Particular pains were taken to infuse these notions into the National Guards.

Early on the morning of the 18th of April, a paper was posted on the walls of the Palais Royal by orders from the Club des Cordeliers, which was at this time chiefly under the influence of Danton, and of which Marat was a member. In this paper was a direct accusation of the King of having broken the laws he had sworn to maintain—of encouraging the unconstitutional priests to stir up a civil war, and preparing to go with his family to join the foreign enemy. This accusation was signed VINCENT, Greffier, and openly avowed by the Club.

Great numbers of the populace crowded from all quarters to the Caroussel and Tui-

leries. The King's carriages however were ordered, the National Guards on duty there were under arms, and the King, the Queen, the Dauphin and the Princess Elizabeth, went into the coach at eleven o'clock ; which they had no sooner done than the surrounding populace began to exclaim and make an outcry in the most insulting and threatening manner : but as they were surrounded with numerous detachments of the National Guards, disregarding the insolence of the multitude, the King ordered the postillions to drive on ; on which, instead of keeping off the crowd, the guards closed before the horses, threatened the postillions if they should dare to proceed, and swore they would not permit the Royal Family to leave Paris. The King's domestic servants, and those immediately attached to his person, were in the mean time abused, maltreated, and dragged from the carriages, about which they had pressed with a view to cover the

Royal

Royal Family from the insults of the rabble. One Gentleman of the Bedchamber having been seized by them at the very window of the coach, the King stretched forth his arm, and endeavoured to retain him ; but the gentleman was much abused, and dragged away notwithstanding.

The Queen's Maître d'Hotel was in danger of being actually killed by a group of the rabble. He was rescued from their violence by the efforts of certain citizens, who knew and esteemed the man, and with difficulty carried him into the guard-room.

The King had the mortification to hear the most insulting and abusive expressions directed against the Queen. One man in the uniform of the National Guards, approaching the carriage and addressing the King himself, told him that he infringed the law by countenancing priests who had not taken the constitutional oaths ; “ et parce qu'il

qu'il souffroit qu'ils vinssent dire la messe dans la chapelle de son chateau." "Malheureux ! retirez-vous," said the King; "qui vous a établi juge de ma conscience \*?"

The gross insults offered to the Royal Family, and particularly to the female part of it, were not confined to the lowest rabble. Some citizens of superior rank joined in them. The inhabitants of Paris have been generally accounted the most polished and polite citizens in Europe ; and the idea *was* well founded : but in matters which deeply affect the interest, and strongly agitate the passions, to expect protection from politeness is to rely on a shield of gilded paper as a defence from cannon balls.

M. Bailly, the Mayor, hastened to the Tuileries to suppress the disorder ; but he

\* And because he allowed them to perform mass in the chapel of the palace.

Who made you judge of my conscience, fellow ?

was

was not listened to. M. La Fayette ordered the National Guards to open to the right and left, to clear away the multitude, and allow the King's coach to pass. He was not obeyed.

After having been more than three hours in the coach, exposed to the insults and derision of the multitude and of the mutinous soldiery, the King and Royal Family were under the necessity of getting out of the carriage, and walking to the Palace, amidst the groans, hootings, and hissings of the multitude. We find the following expression in Shakespeare:

Such a divinity doth hedge in Kings,

That treason doth but peep to what it would.

As the utmost extent of the treason in the present instance was to insult the King and prevent his going to St. Cloud, it cannot be said to have peeped, but to have advanced with broad-faced impudence to its purpose, and effected all at that time intended.

That

That the appearance of the Sovereign generally strikes the beholders with more awe than that of any other individual is true; but as this depends entirely on his power, and as he will strike more awe (for the word implies some degree of fear) the more cruelly he exercises his power, it ought not to be mentioned as part of his panegyric. We know that a mild and benevolent Sovereign may be beheld by the poorest of his subjects with respect unmixed with a single particle of awe; and such monsters as Robespierre and Carrier struck as much awe as any King, Emperor, or Sultan, that ever lived. At one period it was in some measure believed, that a peculiar air of majesty always accompanied the actions and sacred persons of Kings, which, independent of guards and ermine, imposed sentiments of respect, and distinguished them from the general race of mankind. The actress who first played the part of Berenice in

in Racine's tragedy had no sooner pronounced these lines,

Qu'en quelque obscurité que le ciel l'eût fait naître,  
Le monde en le voyant eût reconnu son maître,

than the audience applied them to Lewis XIV, and all France thought the application just.

Some people have imagined that this supposed air of majesty is the *divinity* to which Shakespeare alludes ; but from his putting the observation in the mouth of so worthless a character as the usurper of the throne of Denmark, it is more probable that he meant to expose the folly of such an idea. That great master drew directly from nature. The only crowned heads he ever had an opportunity of seeing were Elizabeth and James. The first was more distinguished by the firm and awful texture of her mind than by the majesty of her person. As for her successor, though he was continually harping on the divine majesty of Kings,

yet



yet few ever had less majesty of any kind either in mind or person.

It happened unluckily for the honour of Scotland, that though in the long race of her Kings, some were in all respects great men, some accomplished gentlemen, and most of them hardy and intrepid warriors, yet he who succeeded to the crown of England was devoid of all those qualities.

If Lewis XVI. had not formed any design of withdrawing from France, or at least to a considerable distance from the capital, previous to this period, it is natural to believe that he should begin to think of it after the unworthy and horrible treatment above described. It may, however, have been suggested to him, that this treatment had entirely proceeded from the vilest and most abandoned of the populace, and a detachment of the National Guards corrupted by a few traitors, who would be detected and punished by the National Assembly, and  
the

the honour of the Nation vindicated to the satisfaction of all good subjects.

On the 19th, therefore, the King went to the National Assembly, and, in a discourse of some length, complained of the resistance which had been made the preceding day to his going to St. Cloud. " I did not choose," added the unhappy Monarch, " to repel that resistance by force, which might have proved fatal to a multitude who, being misled, imagine they are acting in support of law when they are infringing it ; but it is of importance to the Nation to prove that I am a free agent. Nothing can be more essential to give authority to the sanctions which I have granted to your decrees. On that account; therefore, I persist in my resolution of going to St. Cloud ; and the National Assembly must be convinced of the propriety of my so doing."

The Assembly applauded the King's speech ; but, instead of taking measures to punish

punish the seditious, and to make it manifest that he was not a prisoner, they immediately passed to the order of the day ; and the King, in spite of his resolution, did no longer persist in his journey to St. Cloud.

It cannot be supposed but that the majority of the Assembly were well disposed to have paid more attention to the King's speech. They thought, however, in the present disposition of the sections of Paris, who were to meet that same night, that any decree against the seditious ran a risk of not being obeyed ; and some of the Deputies who had rejoiced at their sittings being transferred to Paris, merely for the pleasure of more ample applause and more agreeable society, were now convinced that they were likely to pay too high a price for those gratifications.

In the mean time great pains were taken to persuade the people, that the accusation of the Cordeliers was true, and that the

King's intention was not to have remained at St. Cloud, but to have proceeded to Compiègne ; and that post-horses were placed at proper distances on the road to carry him and his family thither.

On this assertion, which was without foundation, the King's conduct was commented on in the severest terms ; and his inferred hypocrisy and treachery were held up to popular execration in journals and handbills, while the most seditious and treasonable language was spoken with impunity in the groups of the garden of the Palais Royal. One fellow repeated the following maxims in various groups on the 19th and 20th, and was heard with applause as often as he repeated them : “ Un Roi est un personnage inutile, un ogre qui dévore trente millions par an \*.”

And as impiety and treason have gone

\* A King is a very useless personage—a monster who devours thirty millions of livres annually.

hand in hand in France since the beginning of the Revolution, another orator having assured the circle which furrounded him that the King had received the Sacrament that very morning from a nonjuring Priest, one of the audience added, that " he ought to be obliged to go to the parish church, and take the Sacrament over again from a constitutional one. " S'il a mangé un bon Dieu chez lui," said the wretch, " il en mangera bien deux ; il est gourmand."

Besides the emissaries who were dispersed to all places of public resort, to circulate calumnies against the Court, and the motion-makers (les motionnaires) that took their stations in the Palais Royal, there was a society at this time called Société Fraternelle, which met in the Church of the Jacobins near the famous club of Jacobins, of which this Société Fraternelle was an emanation of the most virulent and inflammable portion ; and from it there daily  
 issued

issued libels and satires without number, all calculated to irritate the people against the King, his family, and ministers.

To shew to what a height sedition was carried at this time, it is only necessary to give a few extracts from periodical papers, published and avowed by their writers. What follows is from a paper entitled "L'Orateur du Peuple."

"Courage, braves Parisiens ! Encore un pas, et la victoire est à vous. Le Roi fuyoit, et vous lui avez ordonné de rester dans la capitale. Le peuple a coupé les courrois de ses chevaux. La Fayette a vainement caracollé, peroré ; grimaces qui ne prennent plus : il a été hué. Bailly de même. Songez que, si le Roi quitte la France, il n'y a pas de doute qu'il ne soit déchu du trône, et immolé lui et le dernier rejetton de sa race à la juste fureur d'une grande Nation ! Mais il vous en coutera peut-être dix années de combats, et la perte de

trois millions de vos concitoyens, avant de faire triompher votre liberté.

“ Mottié a demandé que le département s’affemblât. Il a eu le front d’y paroître, et a voulu qu’on l’autorifât à faire feu sur le peuple. Le directoire penchoit pour ce parti ; mais Danton étoit là ! Il a pulverifé, de la foudre de son éloquence populaire, la demande des Sieurs Bailly et Mottié.

“ Louis XVI, aujourd’hui encore Roi des Français ! arrête. Où cours-tu, Monarque, abusé par des conseils perfides ? As-tu bien pesé les fuites de ce départ, l’ouvrage de ta femme ? Le peuple ignore-t-il que de St. Cloud tu te disposes à partir pour Compiègne, et de-là pour la frontière ? Ne savons-nous pas que la bouche des Rois fut toujours l’ancre du mensonge ? Une furie te pousse dans le précipice ! Elle t’a inoculé la rage contre les Français.

“ Eh bien ! Si tu pars, nous ne voyons plus en toi que Tarquin chassé de Rome !

Nous

Nous saisissons tes châteaux, tes palais, ta liste civile. Nous proscrireons ta tête. Que les Porfenna s'avancent ! les Scævola sont prêts\*."

At

\* Courage, brave Parisians ! One effort more, and the victory will be yours. The King was about to fly, and you have ordered him to remain in the capital. The people have cut the harness of his horses. La Fayette has harangued and capered, and made grimaces, without effect : he was hissed. The same has happened to Bailly. Remember that, if the King quits France, there can be no doubt of his being dethroned, and he with his whole race sacrificed to the just fury of a great nation. But perhaps it will cost France a ten years struggle and three millions of inhabitants before liberty shall completely triumph.

Mottié required that the department should be assembled. He had the effrontery to appear there, and desired that he might be authorised to fire on the people. Some leaned to that measure ; but Danton was present, and, with the thunder of popular eloquence, blasted the hopes of Bailly and Mottié.

Lewis XVI, still King of the French, stop. Whither do you run, abused by perfidious counsels ? Have



At this period Danton had the greatest influence in the society of Cordeliers, who held their meetings in the church of that order. He was not a member of the Constituent Assembly, but confidentially connected with Roberfpierre who was. The Cordeliers were considered as more patriotic, or, in the sense in which that word was understood, more furious against the Court, the Noblesse, and the non-juring Clergy than the Jacobins themselves.

you well weighed the consequences of that journey, to which you are prompted by your wife? Do you think that the people are ignorant that from St. Cloud you intend to proceed to Compiègne, and from thence to the frontiers? Do not we know that the mouth of Kings always was the cavern of falsehood? A fury pushes you down the precipice; she has inoculated you with her rage against the French nation.

Well, if you do go, we will consider you as a Tarquin driven from Rome. We will seize on your castles and palaces and civil list; we will proscribe your head. Let the Porfennas advance; the Scævolas are ready.

Marat was also one of the luminaries of the Club of Cordeliers. His powers for public speaking and his influence in the societies were inferior to those of Danton; but as nothing could surpass the intrepidity of Marat, as he affected the dress, manners, and language of the lowest people, called himself their friend, and wrote a Journal in which he abused the rich and flattered the poor, he had more influence with the mob than Danton or any body else. In this Journal, to which he always put his name, he used a style of language which certainly was never before avowedly used to any living King or any Minister actually in place.

In the bright æra of the Grecian republics, a love of liberty was the most distinguishing characteristic of a refined people. The rest of the world, to whom liberty was unknown, were barbarians. Many incidents in the course of the French Revolution seem to exhibit an effect precisely the

reverse—a refined people becoming barbarians from a passion for liberty. This affords a pretext for those who are not lovers of freedom, because they fatten on the wages of servility, to represent Liberty herself, not as the virtuous Addison has done,

- - - - - a Goddess heavenly bright,  
Profuse of bliss and pregnant with delight,

but as a malignant enchantress who turns men into brutes. Let it be always remembered, however, that the vices of the votaries do not alter the virtues of the saint. Whatever wickedness men may commit, from a pretended or perverted passion for freedom, genuine liberty is as valuable, and will be as much valued by men of spirit and discernment, as ever. The crime of Tarquin did not injure the virtuous character of Lucretia.

The following extracts will give the reader an idea of Marat's manner. They  
are

are taken from one of his Journals, entitled

*Adresse de Jean-Baptiste Marat, l'Ami du Peuple, à Louis XVI. Roi des Français.*

“ SIRE,

“ Né simple citoyen, peut-être mériteriez-vous d'être cru sur votre parole ; mais né sur le trône, avec tous les vices de votre éducation, et avec trente-six ans écoulés au milieu de la cour la plus corrompue de l'Europe, sans cesse flagorné par les bas valets qui vous environnent, poussé aux crimes par des Ministres atroces, ou de perfides courtisans, et continuellement entraîné dans la révolte contre vos devoirs par votre famille, quelle confiance pourriez-vous inspirer dans vos protestations d'attachement et de fidélité à la patrie ?

“ Que vos agens venaux applaudissent à de pareils témoignages ; que vos crédules concitoyens fassent chorus bêtement, cela est  
dans

dans l'ordre ; mais ne vous flattez pas de donner le change aux patriotes clairvoyans.

“ Parlez—quelle confiance pourrions-nous avoir dans la parole, dans les sermens d'un Roi qui n'avoit assemblé la Nation que pour l'engager à combler l'abîme creusé par les dilapidations de ses Ministres, des Princes de sa Maison, de ses favoris et des autres fripons de sa cour ; d'un Roi qui essaya de dissoudre l'Assemblée Nationale dès qu'il trouva quelque résistance à ses volontés ; d'un Roi qui travailla six semaines à l'exécution de l'inférieur projet de mettre la capitale à feu et à sang, pour punir ses habitans de l'appui généreux qu'ils sembloient promettre aux Représentans de la Nation contre les attentats du despotisme ?

“ Soyez donc votre propre juge, et dites-nous si un tel Roi mérite d'autres noms que ceux d'automate stupide, ou de perfide trompeur. Sire, vous êtes l'ami de la liberté, comme votre épouse est l'amie des Français.

Français. En vous rendant le docile organe de leurs impostures, vos Ministres ont fait leur métier ordinaire ; en dévoilant ces impostures aux yeux indignés du public, je remplis le plus saint des devoirs \*."

So

\* Had you been born a plain citizen, perhaps you might have been believed on your word ; but, born the heir of a crown, with all the vices of your education, and after having spent six-and-thirty years in the most corrupt Court in Europe, everlastingly flattered by the sycophants who surround you, pushed to vice by monsters of wickedness and perfidious courtiers, and continually seduced from your duty by those belonging to your family—what confidence can be given to your protestations of attachment and fidelity to the country ?

Let your venal creatures applaud such protestations, and the credulous citizens foolishly join in the chorus. That was to be expected : but do not flatter yourself with the hopes of deceiving the penetrating eyes of true patriots.

Speak—what confidence could we put in the word or oath of a King, who assembled the States-General for

no

So many men have affected to act from patriotic disinterested motives, whose subsequent conduct has proved that they had been guided by the most sordid views of self-interest, that some people are tempted to be-

no other purpose but to complete the mischief occasioned by the extravagance of his ministers, his favourites, and the other knaves of his court ; of a King who wished to dissolve the National Assembly, as soon as it shewed some resistance to his will ; of a King who persisted for six weeks in the infernal project of attacking the capital with fire and sword, to punish the inhabitants for the generous support they were inclined to give to the National Representatives against the encroachments of despotism ? Be your own judge, and declare whether such a King deserves to be considered in any other light than that of a passive tool or a perfidious deceiver. Sire, you are just such a friend to liberty as your spouse is a friend to the French Nation.

In rendering you the tame organ of their impositions, your Ministers have acted in character. In unmasking these impostures to the indignant eyes of the public, I fulfil the most sacred of my duties.

lieve that no such sentiment as that of disinterested patriotism now exists in the world. But if there were no such feeling, there would be no such pretence: people would not affect what does not exist in nature. Those who use arguments founded on virtue and patriotism, without excepting even this wretch Marat, must at some period of their lives have felt sentiments of that kind, and must believe that they still exist in the breasts of their auditors; otherwise they would not expect to influence by them.

Such language as Marat on this and on other occasions addressed to so mild a Prince as Louis XVI. is still more revolting to a candid mind, and less applicable than the hyperbolical praises bestowed by Boileau and other poets of his time on Lewis XIV, though Heaven knows the latter are sufficiently revolting and inapplicable.

Jeune



Jeune et vaillant héros, dont la haute sagesse  
 N'est point le fruit tardif d'une lente vieillesse,  
 Et qui seul, sans Ministre, à l'exemple des Dieux,  
 Soutiens tout par toi-même, et vois tout par tes yeux.

Quand je vois ta sagesse, en ses justes projets,  
 D'une heureuse abondance enrichir tes sujets—&c. &c.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Observations on the different Conduct of Men to Monarchs in Prosperity and in Adversity—The Indignation formerly manifested by the French Nation against the English for their Conduct towards their Kings—Supposed Dialogue between Lewis XIV. and one of his Courtiers—All Attempts to alter Men's Opinions vain—Anecdote of one of the Chevalier St. Méard's Judges—A Republican Government often tyrannical—British House of Peers—Reflections—Rash Decrees of the Legislative Assembly—The French Nation no way interested in establishing a Republic in England or other Countries.*

**I**T is an old observation, and what might be of use to Sovereigns in estimating the sincerity of the attachment of those around their persons, that the same disposition which

which renders men obsequious to prosperity and servile to power, is apt to make them neglectful of the unfortunate and insolent to the weak. No nation ever pushed both extremes farther than the French in their behaviour to their Kings in these opposite situations ; and in both cases they have been very lavish in their endeavours to throw ridicule and abuse on their neighbours for not following their example. At present they deride other nations for their attachment to monarchy. Formerly, when they themselves displayed more abject servility to their Kings than any other European nation, they described the English as barbarians for resisting the tyranny of the house of Stuart, and for claiming freedom. Warm in the cause of depressed royalty, they exclaimed against the insolence of a people who thought they had a right to make any alteration in their government. If France and other countries of Europe had not been

distracted

distracted with internal as well as external commotions in the time of Charles I. they would all have supported the cause of the Monarch against the People of England for attempting to regulate their own government, and with a view to extirpate those ideas of freedom which began to spread at that time. Lewis XIV. was excited not only by his own inclination but also by the wishes of his subjects to enter into a war with England, on purpose to punish the Nation for the crime they had committed against the King, and to restore the monarchy. \*Boileau wrote an ode expressly against this nation, of which the following are two stanzas :

Quoi ! ce Peuple aveugle en son crime,  
 Qui prennant son Roi pour victime,  
 Fit du trône un théâtre affreux,  
 Pense-t-il que le Ciel, complice  
 D'un si funeste sacrifice,  
 N'a pour lui ni foudre ni feux ?

Armés-toi, France, prends la foudre,  
 C'est à toi de réduire en poudre  
 Ces sanglans ennemis des loix.  
 Suis la Victoire qui t'appelle,  
 Et vas sur ce peuple rebelle  
 Venger la querelle des Rois.

If the Restoration had not taken place, there is little reason to doubt but that the Monarch would have followed the poet's advice. Indeed he proved this by seizing the first pretext that occurred for *grasping the thunder* in the cause of Kings, in acknowledging the son of James II. as Prince of Wales, contrary to the Act of Settlement of the English Parliament, and contrary to the opinion of his own Council.

That some such dialogue as the following might pass between Lewis and some of his Courtiers on that occasion, is a supposition not inconsistent with the character of that Prince and the sentiments of his Court.

LEWIS.

LEWIS. Notwithstanding that Beauvilliers, De Torci, and others of my Council, were against the measure, I have acknowledged the son of James II. as King of Great Britain and Ireland ; and I am determined to re-establish him on the throne of his ancestors, in spite of the decrees of his rebellious subjects in Parliament assembled.

COURTIER. The determination is magnanimous, and worthy of so great a Monarch. It is at once just and politic ; for the shocking manner in which that ungovernable people have treated their Kings is a most alarming example to all the Sovereigns of Europe, and it would be dangerous to allow it to remain any longer unpunished.

LEWIS. The cause of Kings is the cause of Heaven, by whose appointment Kings reign ; and the vengeance of Heaven evidently followed all those wretches who re-

sisted the power of Charles I. in that island, as well as those who afterwards brought him to the scaffold. I have been assured that all of them died violent deaths. You perhaps remember the particulars.

COURTIER. The avenging power of Heaven was never more apparent, as your Majesty piously observes, than in the deaths of all who directly or indirectly contributed to that blessed King's murder. Hampden was killed in the very act of rebellion. Pym died of a horrid disease, particularly commissioned to cut him off. The soul of Cromwell was carried to hell in a storm. The regicides and others had their hearts and bowels torn out on the scaffold. Those of the King's Judges who fled out of England were privately put to death in other countries by the laudable resentment of the King's relations. Sydney, the republican, who had taken part in the rebellion against Charles I. was executed for a plot against

his son. Ruffel, who, to the disgrace of the noble family to which he belonged, was for limiting the power of the Crown so as to render it unsupportable to a Prince of spirit, and had the insolence to promote a bill for excluding the lawful heir because he professed the true religion, was justly beheaded ; and Essex, who was engaged in the same conspiracy with Sydney and Ruffel, either cut his own throat or had it cut by others : for in either case your Majesty's observation is confirmed, that the vengeance of Heaven in one way or another extends to all those daring wretches who oppose the authority of their Sovereign on any pretext whatever, as Kings are not accountable for the exercise of the power which God has given them, to any but to God alone.

LEWIS. It is singular, however, that in placing the Prince of Orange on their throne, the English have not consigned that degree of power to him which naturally



ought to belong to a King. He is limited; I understand, in some respects according to the system which Ruffel wished to have applied to the Duke of York.

COURTIER. Your Majesty's remark is of infinite importance ; for, in thus limiting the power of the Crown, the English nation have established a precedent which may affect the other monarchies in Europe more than even the atrocious conduct of Cromwell ; because many men who would shrink from the very idea of the murder of their Sovereign, and are averse to a republic, may nevertheless be so deluded, that they would agree to have the lustre of the Crown diminished by circumscribing the power of the Prince who wears it. I am confident that your Majesty will be so completely successful in the just war that you intend to engage in against the English nation, or rather against the principles and government of that nation, as to expel the present usurper, and

and re-establish King James in the plenitude of royal power. But if, contrary to probability, *that* should be found too difficult or too expensive, and there were no more hopes for James, it would then perhaps be highly suitable to your Majesty's wisdom to assist William himself in obtaining that fullness of power over his subjects that becomes a King; that the dangerous and odious example of a limited monarchy may no longer shock the sight of the Monarchs, and corrupt the hearts of the People, of every nation in Europe.

LEWIS. The name of the Prince of Orange has been always odious to me. I shall assist *him* in nothing: but I am resolved that James shall be restored to the throne of England with all the power that was possessed by Henry VIII. and with the re-establishment of the true religion which that apostate abolished.

Accordingly Lewis made the attempt;

and we know that it was not till all his expensive and sanguinary efforts to overturn the government and change the opinions of the people of England had failed, and had nearly exhausted the resources and shaken the loyalty of his own subjects, that the English nation obtained peace, and were permitted to entertain their own opinions, and settle their government to their own taste.

It may perhaps seem surprising that the people of one country should have ever thought that the opinions or form of government of another country was any concern of theirs ; but that such an idea should have prevailed in the middle or towards the end of the seventeenth century is not so surprising as it would be to find it existing at the end of the eighteenth. After the many bloody experiments which have been made with a view to alter men's opinions on religion, government, or indeed on any thing else,

else, by force, we might naturally imagine that the point would be given up. Philip II, with his tortures and his inquisition, and his great generals and his disciplined armies, could make nothing of it even against the small country of Holland, which, small as it is, has never failed to repel all invaders but those she had some inclination to receive. The mighty Lewis, after being prompted by his own vanity, the flattery of his poets, and the folly of his subjects, to grasp *la foudre*, on purpose to force the British nation to receive the King and the doctrine which he approved, was obliged to desist when he found that the *lightning* scorched himself and his subjects more than his enemies.

Indeed it is not only clear, that all attempts to alter men's opinions by violent means fail in the desired effect ; but that they generally tend to rivet them more  
firmly

firmly in their old sentiments. The persecutions of the heathens against the Christians, and the Roman Catholics against the Protestants, sufficiently prove this ; and, if a more recent instance were necessary, the annals of tyranny could not afford a stronger than has been exhibited by the Clergy of France, whom no species of perfidious cruelty and persecution has been able to shake in their opinions, or prevent their avowing the dictates of their conscience. On the execrable second of September 1792, in the garden of the Carmes at Paris, the venerable Archbishop of Arles saw the assassin raise his sabre, and he received the repeated strokes without shrinking, rather than seem to comply in the least degree with decrees which he thought unjust and impious. The Bishop of Beauvais and the Bishop of Saintes, with near two hundred ecclesiastics of different denominations, were massacred on the same day

day in the same garden, for no other crime than refusing to disavow their opinions.

It is not more true, ~~that~~ the usual effect of persecution or ill usage on account of particular opinions is to make the persecuted cling more cordially to them, and feel augmented aversion against those of their persecutors, than that kind and gentle treatment renders men open to argument, and disposed to the renunciation of error the moment they are convinced that their opinions are erroneous. It is only since the Jews were treated with mildness, and particularly since they began to be caressed and entertained by men of high rank in this country, that any of them could be convinced of their delusion, persuaded that the Messiah had already appeared in the world, and that some of their distinguishing ceremonies were no longer necessary. This observation strikes the minds of some people so forcibly as to convince them, that creat-  
ing

ing a few Jews, soon after their conversion to Christianity, grandees of Spain, or peers of Great Britain, would do more to the abolition of circumcision than all the racks of the Inquisition.

Nothing revolts the spirit of man so much as to have any thing forced upon it; the very appearance of force makes it reject with disgust what it might have embraced spontaneously. He who even argues with a dictatorial air, indisposes his hearers from admitting his inferences or adopting his opinions. A pretty certain way of spreading any particular way of thinking in a country, is for the government to threaten and endeavour to terrify those who entertain it; it renders their own peculiar way of thinking dearer to them than it was before; it converts an opinion, which they might have changed, into a principle which it is a point of honour to maintain; and although it is dangerous for them to speak their minds, yet they have

have an interest in making profelytes which otherwise they would not have had, because, by making many of their way of thinking, their danger will be removed.

It is the business of government to control men's actions, not their opinions; and those are recorded as the happiest times, in which the most uncontrolled freedom was allowed to the declaration of opinion. *Rara temporum felicitate*, says the historian, *ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet*. All the terrors of the tribunal of political inquisition, or of the Ponte di Sopiri at Venice, cannot make one who thinks monarchy a preferable form of government to republicanism change his opinion; nor can all the thunder of the *ultima ratio regum* make a republican prefer monarchy. The utmost that severities can do is to make hypocrites; it is impossible for them to make converts. Opinion, so far from being under the power of other men's will, is not under  
a man's



a man's own; it is the offspring of his reason, of whatever force that reason may be, whether well or ill informed; and although it is often perverted by prejudice and influenced by situation, yet a man's real opinion is founded on what appears to him reasonable at the time, and he cannot alter it until what appeared reasonable appears to him the reverse. Opinions therefore cannot justly be imputed to any man as crimes. This is so obvious, that even one of those bloody judges who examined the Chevalier Saint-Méard, in the prison of the Abbaye at Paris in September 1792, was sensible of it. When the intrepid Saint-Méard avowed himself a royalist, and an universal murmur arose from the bloody circle who heard him, "Ce n'est pas pour juger les opinions," said the judge, "que nous sommes ici, c'est pour en juger les résultats\*."

\* It is not to judge of men's opinions that we are here, but to judge of their actions.

Had all those who decided on the fate of the prisoners adhered to that maxim, there would have been no massacres.

Men may be royalists, thank Heaven ! and yet friends to freedom ; as they may be republicans, and yet abettors of tyranny.

Without alluding to the shocking despotism which governs the republic of France, let us throw our eyes on other republics.

What kind of friends has freedom in the Senate of Venice, or the Great Council of Bern ?

If the same question is asked respecting the British House of Peers, the answer will be different.

Freedom has never been without friends there.

Who were the principal authors of the revolution in the year 1688 ?

The wisest men in the House of Peers have been as sincere supporters of the rights of the democratic part of the constitution,

as of their own ; they well know, that upon it the public liberty is chiefly founded. And the wisest members of the House of Commons have supported the just rights of the House of Peers ; they well know, that certain members of that house had a principal hand in forming the Constitution, such as it has been since the year 1688, and on some occasions have had the honour of preserving it since that period.

Although the royalists in Charles the First's time were generally thought enemies to liberty, it was not universally the case : some were the friends of liberty *notwithstanding* their being royalists, and some were royalists *because* they were the sincere friends of liberty—being fully persuaded that her happiest and most permanent residence in this island would always be under a limited monarchy. And although the republicans of the same period were generally thought friends to freedom, yet some assumed the character

character and sentiments of republicans, because they wished to establish tyranny.

Men of the greatest worth and virtue always have had, and always will have different speculative opinions on those two different forms of government ; every man has a right to speculate on government as on all other subjects, and while he confines himself to speculation he is not the just object of punishment ; but when from speculation he proceeds to action the case is totally different. The peace of society is not to be with impunity disturbed with insurrection, because a few men prefer a different form of government to that under which they live. If therefore a portion of the subjects of a republic attempt by force to convert it into a monarchy, or if those of a monarchy endeavour by the same means to overturn the constitution and form a republic ; the men against whom such actions are proved, become the just objects of punishment ;

ment ; and by the laws of the mildest government, whether monarchical or republican, that ever existed, that punishment is death.

The rash and intemperate nature of certain decrees of the National Convention soon after the tenth of August, discovered a disposition to convert all the monarchies of Europe into republics ; and the foolish answers made by some of their Presidents to certain deputations from foreign countries, which appeared at the bar of the Convention, tended to strengthen the same suspicion.

That some inconsiderate and enthusiastic men entertained such an idea, is evident from the circumstances just mentioned ; but that the majority of the Convention could think such a scheme practicable, or that it would be for the benefit of France, to put herself to expence or trouble to bring it about, if it were, seems highly improbable.

The French pretend that they have overturned monarchy in France, because of the vices inherent in that kind of government, which enfeebled the state and depressed the energy of the nation. They declare that, by being a republic, France has acquired triple strength, and is capable of efforts far surpassing her power at any former period.

Without examining whether the efforts she has lately made, and the strength she has displayed, depend on her being a republic, or on other circumstances, how is this opinion of the French to be reconciled with their endeavouring to inspire the other nations of Europe, particularly those with whom they are at war, with a desire to adopt a republican form of government? Do they wish that their rivals and enemies should acquire triple strength also? If all the monarchies of Europe were converted into republics, then, according to the principles of the French themselves, the great

superiority they have acquired would be lost, and their weight in the balance of Europe reduced to what it was before the Revolution.

It may be said, that in endeavouring to overturn monarchies they are actuated by hatred to kings, and by private malevolence; but whatever indications of this kind may have appeared in moments of enthusiasm, it is impossible to imagine that the governors of a great nation can, for the gratification of a childish humour, persist in a plan, which, according to their own principles, would, when accomplished, render their rivals more formidable. To act conformably to state policy, and consistent with their declarations respecting the source of their new acquired strength; so far from spreading their opinions among other nations, or using any means of inducing them to adopt the maxims of their Convention, the French ought to lay a general embargo upon them,  
and

and confine them within their own territories as valuable secrets, which secure their superiority over monarchical states, as completely as the use of fire-arms secured a superiority to the Spaniards over the Mexicans. It seems highly probable that they have now at least relinquished the system of republican crusades, if they ever seriously entertained it, and have pretty generally adopted the principles of one of their countrywomen, who in conversation with an Englishman, who asserted that it would be absolutely necessary for the French nation to restore monarchy before they could obtain peace, replied, “ Monsieur, nous ne voulons plus de roi—c’est notre affaire, laissez nous tranquilles. Mais vous autres vous aimez les rois, à la bonne heure, prenez en une douzaine si vous voulez—on vous laissera tranquilles.”

But if there is little reason to think that the French will ever take pains to spread their



political principles in this country, there is still less reason to dread that either their principles or example will be adopted by the people of Great Britain, although the French had that intention: the incidents of the French revolution are sufficient, and far more than sufficient, to remove such an idea from every worthy mind, however fond of genuine freedom. Can a national strength that is acquired by the seizing of private property, be an object of envy to the citizens of a country where property is secure? Can the idea of provinces added to France, be a compensation to those French citizens whose fortunes have been torn from them to defray the expence of the conquest? Can any amount of success against foreign enemies afford consolation to those who deplore the loss of parents, of consorts, of children, of friends or relations, by internal massacres?

As England can derive no benefit from  
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the misery of individuals in France, and certainly feels many inconveniencies from the augmented strength of that nation, by whatever horrible means it has been augmented ; assuredly it is her interest, independent of ten thousand considerations arising from general humanity, that a safe and honourable peace were speedily obtained, by which her own prosperity might be secured, and the wretched individuals of France might become more happy and less formidable. Let France retain the republican form of government she seems so fond of, if she chooses ; and let the inhabitants of this island seriously reflect on the two great attempts that have been made in Europe to turn a monarchy into a republic. The one took place in the middle of the last century, the other towards the end of this. England was the theatre of the first, France of the second. After exhibiting a most sanguinary spectacle to Europe, of four years continu-

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ance,

ance, the first ended in the tyranny of Cromwell ; the second still continues, spreading bloodshed and dismay through Europe, and rendering France the abode of wretchedness. Let the inhabitants of this island also remember, that monarchy was not restored to Great Britain by a combination of foreign powers, displeased forsooth at her having assumed a republican form of government. Rather than have admitted of such insolent interference, or restored monarchy at their command, she would have remained a republic until this hour : but the free-born inhabitants of Great Britain, of their own free will and accord, without the least regard or consideration for the opinion or inclination of other states, thought proper to re-establish monarchy. And who can say what France left entirely to the freedom of her own choice might do ? Is it unlikely that, harassed and disgusted with so many internal convulsions, and retaining  
a due

a due sense of the abuses of her ancient government, she may, as soon as she obtains breathing time, seek for permanent peace and prosperity in a monarchical form of government, equally free from the vices of the old system and of the present? In the mean time it is devoutly to be wished, that Great Britain will ever adhere to and support the genuine spirit of her own free Constitution; and while she expresses a just detestation of the democratic tyranny which has prevailed in France, that she will ever maintain an equal aversion to the more regular and imposing despotism of some of the powers combined against that unhappy country.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*The National Assembly avoid any Inquiry concerning the Insults offered to the King—Strange Address of the Department of Paris to the King—Cardinal of Montmorency and Bishop of Senlis resign their Offices—King's Chaplains dismissed—The King hears Mass performed by a Constitutional Priest on Easter-day—M. La Fayette resigns his Command, and afterwards at the Entreaty of the Troops resumes it—King's Declaration to Foreign Courts—It has a bad Effect—Done against the Opinion of M. Montmorin—Scheme concerted with the Emperor for re-establishing the King's Authority.*

**W**HEN the National Assembly passed to the order of the day on the King's complaint, it did not proceed from their

their being insensible to the insult which had been offered to him, or from the majority being unwilling that the guilty should be severely punished ; but from their being persuaded that, in the spirit to which the populace and the National Guards had been wrought up, any attempt to animadvert on the subject would expose the weakness of the Assembly, and perhaps prove dangerous to the Royal Family.

The Department of Paris had found it expedient to invite the Sections to meet on the evening of the day on which the King had been at the National Assembly ; and the question submitted to their deliberation was, whether they should address him to fulfil his intention of going to St. Cloud, or return him thanks for having chosen to remain at Paris, that the public tranquillity might be no longer disturbed.

As all the world knew that it was not from choice that the King had remained at  
Paris,

Paris, this seemed an additional insult ; and at any rate nothing could be more indecent, and more humiliating both to the King and the National Assembly, than to submit to the shopkeepers and tradesmen of Paris such a question.

The majority of the Sections gave a wiser answer than there was reason to expect, by declaring in general terms that there was no room for deliberating. But the Ministers, and those immediately about the King's person, were so terrified at the agitation which prevailed, and particularly at the assertion, which had been printed, and pasted on the walls, of measures having been prepared to transport the Royal Family from St. Cloud to Compiègne, that the King was advised to contradict that assertion in a letter to the Department of Paris, in which it was also desired, that this contradiction should be made public as soon as possible.

The Department accordingly ordered the  
King's

King's declaration to be immediately published, and circulated at all places of public resort. But declarations of a contrary tendency were also fixed upon the walls, and allowed to remain, while that of the King was in many places torn down by the populace as false.

The Club of Jacobins, that of the Cordeliers, and the Société Fraternelle, chiefly made up of the most wicked and worthless members of the former, persevered with such success in agitating the populace, and in corrupting the minds of the National Guards, that the Department of Paris thought it expedient to present an address to the King, expressing their concern at the favour he shewed to the non-juring Clergy, and others who were enemies of the Constitution, begging " that he would withdraw his countenance from all those of whom the people were suspicious ; that he would announce by his Ambassadors at the different courts of Europe,



rope, that a glorious revolution had taken place in France, which he had cordially adopted ; and that he was proud of being the King of a free people." The address concluded with the expression of a desire, that the King would entrust this annunciation of his sentiments to Ministers who were *not unworthy of trust*.

In short, the import of the address was, that the King should dismiss the servants he loved, and employ those he hated ; that he should not receive the Sacrament from Priests whom he regarded on account of their piety, but from those he despised for their irreligion ; that he should announce a series of gross falsehoods to all the Courts of Europe ; and finally, that he should change the Ministers in whom he put trust for others in whom he put none.

These were strange requests to be made to a King ; especially as they were not made by a foreign enemy at the gates of his capital

tal after a victory ; but by those who had the direction of his capital, and who called themselves his loving subjects. Nothing can give a stronger idea of the wretched state to which this unfortunate Monarch was reduced, than that it was thought necessary that they should all, except the last, be immediately complied with.

To alleviate as much as was in their power the pain of such a compliance, the Cardinal of Montmorency, Grand Aumônier, the Bishop of Senlis, Premier Aumônier, M. de Villequier and M. Amedee de Duras, Principal Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber, gave in their resignations. All the ecclesiastics belonging to the King's chapel were dismissed ; and on the first Sunday after the address of the Department, he went to the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, and heard mass, performed by the new Priest on Easter-day.

Whatever uneasiness the others may have produced,

produced, it is probable that this last was a sacrifice more repugnant to the King's conscience than all the rest ; since he considered the sacred rite as in some degree prophaned by the worthlessness of the person who performed it : for there is no question that the King had been taught to consider all the ecclesiastics in that light who had taken the oaths.

Unfounded as such an opinion may be, it is not so absurd as to impute any thing criminal to men, because they refused to take the oaths ; and the outcry that was raised against them was as wicked as absurd. The general accusation of their being *réfractaires à la loi* was absolutely false. The law exacted that they should either take a particular oath, or resign their benefices. They chose the last. This is no breach of law : on the contrary, it is conforming to the law by choosing one of two measures left to their option by the law ; and, in  
affording

affording protection to men reduced to want by obeying the dictates of their conscience the King observed the laws of humanity without violating those of the Constitution.

The Constitution also left the free exercise of his religion to every individual. Messrs. Barnave, Rabaud de Saint-Etienne, and other Protestant members of the National Assembly, who had in compliance with the will of the majority voted for the civil constitution of the Clergy, were allowed, as well as every other person in France, the public exercise of their religion. It was never exacted of any of them to attend the Catholic worship administered by ecclesiastics who had taken the oaths. How cruel and arbitrary must it appear then to insist upon the King's doing this, or to refuse to him the freedom of worshipping God in his private chapel in the manner most agreeable to his conscience!—a freedom which the Constitution allowed to be used

publicly by every person in the kingdom without exception.

M. de la Fayette was so disgusted at the shameful scene on the 18th of April, that he resigned the command of the National Guards. It then appeared how much he was beloved by them. All the battalions assembled. They appointed deputations to the General, expressing sorrow for their past conduct, and promising implicit obedience to his orders in future. They also sent deputations to the Municipality and to the Department, entreating them to join in soliciting the General to resume the command.

The hotel of La Fayette was filled with these deputations from the different battalions, from the time that he had given in his resignation until the following morning at five o'clock. The street in which his house stood was crowded with the men, all waiting with impatience for the news of  
his

his having yielded to their entreaties ; but finding that he still refused, they went in crowds to the Town-house, and begged of the Municipality to use their influence with the General that he should resume the command. The Municipality, perceiving that citizens of all the sections joined in this request of the National Guards, declared that they would become responsible for the future obedience of the battalions, and entreated the General to yield to the desire of his fellow-citizens.

M. La Fayette expressed a proper sense of the honour done him ; adding, that he would not presume to give an immediate answer, but would the following day attend the Municipality at the Town-house, and there deliver to them his sentiments.

M. La Fayette went accordingly at ten o'clock, and in the common hall, where he found all the representatives of the Common Council, with deputies from all the battalions

of National Guards assembled, pronounced a discourse equally distinguished for modesty and good sense. He placed in a strong point of view the horror which every enlightened citizen must have felt at beholding those whose duty it is to support the laws oppose their execution. He added that, if the capital, which was the cradle of the Revolution, instead of respecting and obeying the Executive Powers, should besiege them with tumults, and fatigue them with insults, it would from being the honoured *example* become the *terror* of the French nation ; that in the marks of regard with which his fellow-citizens had honoured him, too much attention had been paid to an individual, but not enough to the laws. “ Dans les marques si touchantes d'affection que j'ai reçues,” said he, “ on a beaucoup trop fait pour moi, on n'a pas assez fait pour la loi ; je me suis convaincu, avec la plus tendre émotion, que mes camarades m'aimoient ;

m'aimoient ; je n'ai point encore su à quel point ils chériffoient tous les principes sur lesquels la liberté est fondée \*." And he concluded by refusing to resume the command.

On this refusal, and those observations of M. La Fayette, it was resolved, that each battalion should assemble the following day, and make a declaration of their sentiments on the subject pointed out in M. La Fayette's discourse ; which was done accordingly by all the different regiments ; and in their declarations, instead of expressing attachment to their General, and wishes that he should resume the command, they speak solely of their submission to Law,

\* In the affecting marks of attachment I have received, too much regard is shewn to me, and too little to the laws. I am thoroughly convinced that my comrades love me ; but I am still to learn, how far they are attached to those principles on which liberty is founded.



their zeal for the Constitution, and their resolution to obey the Commander in Chief, without once mentioning M. La Fayette.

The Municipality having verified the declarations of the National Guards, of the Cannoniers, of the various companies of Chasseurs, and of the Cavalry, decreed, that the Mayor at the head of a deputation of eight Members of the Common Council should wait on the General, and represent to him that it would endanger the State if he persisted in his first resolution, and that the greatest proof of patriotism he could give would be to resume the command.

It was impossible to resist longer—M. La Fayette thanked the Mayor and deputation in becoming terms; and the day following having resumed the command, he expressed his sense of the honour done him by the various corps; and being then on the parade  
before

before the Town-house, he proposed that they should go in a body to the King, taking with them all of their comrades whom they might meet by the way, and express their sorrow and repentance for what was past, and renew to his Majesty their declaration of allegiance.

This proposal was directly adopted. M. La Fayette accompanied them to the Tuileries ; addressed the King, in the name of all the National Guards, in the terms which had been agreed on ; received a gracious reception and answer from the Monarch ; and as soon as this was known, the troops expressed their satisfaction by repeated exclamations of “ Vive le Roi ! Vive le Restaurateur de la Liberté Française ! Vive le Petit-fils de Henri IV \* ! ”

In this behaviour of the National Guards,

\* Long live the King ! Long live the Restorer of French Liberty ! Long live the Grandson of Henry IV !

who having been excited to mutiny and sedition were so soon after brought to a sense of their crime, and to such expressions of remorse, a strong proof will be found of that fickleness as well as sensibility which is so remarkable in the French character.

This people receive impressions with astonishing sensibility ; but these impressions are effaced, and give way to others of a different nature, with a rapidity as extraordinary as the acuteness with which they were first felt ; which makes the French appear in the eyes of their neighbours sometimes in the light of children, and sometimes in that of madmen. But when, in consequence of this, it is imagined that they will be easily taken the advantage of, they display of a sudden, and when least expected, a maturity and soundness of judgment that is more surprising and vexatious to their enemies than all the rest.

This

This return of the National Guards to a sense of their duty was highly provoking to a set of men who, unhappily for France, were at this time concentrated in the capital. Some of these men from mistaken notions of government, and some from interested and malicious motives, were continually raising suspicions of the King, and endeavouring to create discord and confusion. The persons alluded to had not so much influence in the National Assembly, nor in the Municipality, as they came to have soon afterwards; nor were they so powerful at this time in the Jacobin Society, to which many members of the National Assembly belonged, as they were in the Club of Cordeliers and the Société Fraternelle, chiefly composed of the refuse of the Jacobins.

The Municipality having been informed that some grenadiers of a certain division of the National Guards had been particularly active on the 18th in promoting the mutiny,

tiny, had held the most abusive language against the Royal Family, and had threatened to fire upon the cavalry, who by M. La Fayette's orders were endeavouring to disengage the King's coach, decreed that this company should be reduced, and another raised in its stead. The reduction took place immediately ; but as it was represented to the Municipality, that fourteen only had been guilty of the crimes charged, all the rest were admitted into the new formed company. This transaction was laid hold of by the factious clubs above alluded to, as a pretext for murmurs, accusation, and sedition. The fourteen discarded soldiers were received with marks of favour by the Fraternal Society ; they were feasted by the Cordeliers, and treated as persecuted patriots ; while the conduct of the Municipality was condemned, and M. La Fayette was accused as an enemy of liberty, and of being bought by the Court,

Court. Emissaries were also employed to blacken his character, and misrepresent his conduct, among the groups of the idlers in the places of public resort. Placards were pasted up, and pamphlets published against him. At the Cordeliers some men were heard to declare, that it would be meritorious to assassinate him ; and at the Fraternal Society a woman, fired by the eloquence of these orators, and intoxicated with the spirit of patriotism, called him among other bad names a second *Sisera*, and swore that she would take the earliest opportunity of entering his house, and driving a nail into his temples while he was fast asleep.

The capital was kept in such a state of agitation by a few daring and unprincipled men, who had the direction of those incendiary societies, and through their means great influence in the populous suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, where the poorest and most desperate of the

citizens lived, that the King was advised to a measure, which, joined to what he had already done, would, as was imagined, remove all jealousy of him, annihilate every pretext for complaint, and at once restore the public tranquillity. M. Montmorin, at this time Minister for Foreign Affairs, came to the National Assembly, and read a letter which by the King's command, as he asserted, he had transmitted to all the French Ambassadors and Residents at foreign Courts, as his Majesty's genuine and sincere sentiments respecting the Revolution, and the Constitution which was just about to be established in France, and which those Ambassadors and Residents were required to make known to all the Courts of Europe, that there might no longer remain any doubt of the King's complete approbation of the new form of government which he had sworn to maintain.

In this letter the following account of  
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the Revolution is given : “ Ce que l’on appelle la Révolution, n’est que l’anéantissement d’une foule d’abus, accumulés depuis des siècles par l’erreur du Peuple, ou le pouvoir des Ministres, qui n’a jamais été le pouvoir des Rois.

“ Ces abus n’étoient pas moins funestes à la Nation qu’au Monarque. Ces abus, l’autorité, sous des regnes heureux, n’avoit cessé de les attaquer, sans pouvoir les détruire. Ils n’existent plus. La Nation Souveraine n’a plus que des citoyens égaux en droits, plus de despote que la loi, plus d’organes que des fonctionnaires publics, et le Roi est le premier de ces fonctionnaires. Telle est la Revolution Françoise \*.”

It

\* That which is called the Revolution is merely an annihilation of a number of abuses which had been allowed to accumulate in the course of ages by the error of the People or the power of Ministers, but never were part of the power of the Kings.

Those abuses were not less detrimental to the Nation  
than



It was added, that “ all the King’s power was maintained by the Constitution, except the dangerous power of making laws ; that the French nation had no internal enemies, but those who are so foolish as to imagine that twenty-four millions of men, after having by a bold exertion destroyed the abuses of their government, will quietly permit them to be re-established ; that the most dangerous enemies of the Nation were those who circulated doubts of the King’s love of the Constitution ; that such men were either very blind or very wicked ; that, believing themselves the friends, they were the real enemies, of royalty ; that calumny had

than to the Monarch. Under the happiest reigns these abuses were attacked by authority without being removed. They exist no longer. The Sovereign Nation consists of citizens equal in their rights. There is now no power superior to law ; no organ by which the law can speak but the public officers appointed for that purpose ; and the King is the first of those public officers. Such is the French Revolution.

even

even gone the length of asserting, that the King did not enjoy perfect liberty—and this merely because he chose to remain constantly within Paris—a choice which he owed to the patriotism and love of the citizens.”

If the Pope, by some extraordinary accident, had fallen into the hands of the Hugonots during the war of the League, and had then issued a declaration importing, that, “being at perfect freedom, he took that opportunity of avowing his belief in the religious opinions of Calvin; that all who insinuated that he was, or ever had been, of a different way of thinking were guilty of gross calumny; for what he wished above all things was to see the Roman Catholic worship with all its abominations abolished:” such a declaration would have been thought every bit as sincere on the part of his Holiness as those in the letter to the foreign Courts in the name  
of

of Lewis XVI. were believed to be either at those Courts, or among the French themselves after they began to reflect, which they never do during the first impression. If what is announced is agreeable, the French in general are so much engrossed with satisfaction, that they do not consider whether it be probable or not. The reading of this letter was accordingly heard with joy by the Assembly, and with enthusiastic applause by the audience in the galleries.

But M. Montmorin had no part in the composition of this letter. It was the production of two of the most popular members at that time in the National Assembly ; who being of opinion that the ill humour and agitation of the Parisians proceeded entirely from the pains taken by a few seditious individuals to inspire them with a notion that the King hated the Constitution, and secretly conspired with the enemies of France to overturn it, imagined, if his

Majesty would make a full and strong declaration of his attachment to the Constitution, and that he would consider all *its* enemies, whether in or out of France, as *his* enemies, and order this declaration to be announced to the different Courts of Europe by his Ambassadors; that this measure would at once defeat the designs of the seditious, dissipate the suspicions of the people, restore the public tranquillity, and render the King so popular, that he and the whole Royal Family might visit St. Cloud, Compiègne, and the other royal villas, as often as they pleased, without raising the least suspicion or uneasiness. In consequence of this persuasion, those two Deputies, being acquainted with some persons constantly near the King, impressed the same upon them. Their reasoning, being repeated to the King, was afterwards expatiated upon and enforced by the two members with such energy, that he was at last prevailed on to

adopt the measure, and desired them to draw such a declaration as they conceived to be necessary for the purpose.

They accordingly did so ; and presented it to his Majesty, who without any alteration gave it to M. de Montmorin, with orders to reduce it to the form of a letter to be transmitted to his Ambassadors at the different Courts.

M. de Montmorin, having perused this production, was astonished at the whole, but particularly at some assertions evidently in contradiction with recent events known to all France. He represented to the King, that he was much afraid it would have an effect directly the reverse of what was expected. The King, being strongly prepossessed in favour of the measure, told the Minister that those who advised it were better acquainted than he could be with the temper of the Parisians, and therefore he persisted in the order he had given : on  
which

which M. de Montmorin begged to be allowed to resign his office. The King, displeased with the proposal, answered that he expected to be obeyed in the first place ; and with regard to his resignation, *that* might be settled afterwards.

M. de Montmorin submitted, and sent the declaration to the Ambassadors, and a copy, as has been mentioned, to the National Assembly\*.

But, notwithstanding the demonstrations of joy and applause which the first reading produced, when people had time to weigh and consider it with coolness and attention, it became evident that M. de Montmorin estimated it properly ; that the authors of the declaration had overshot the

\* The account of this transaction was received from one, whose situation enabled him to be acquainted with the whole, and whose veracity may be depended upon.

M. de Montmorin was not superseded in his office until the month of October, at his repeated request.

mark they aimed at. Even those who were most disposed to believe that the King's resolution was to rest satisfied with the Constitution, and never to enter into any plot for its overthrow, could not help thinking that the expressions in this declaration went greatly beyond what he could really feel ; and therefore condemned it in their hearts as a measure of weakness. Others less partial to the King condemned it as a proof of falsehood, and spread their opinions with such assiduity, that in a very short time the suspicions of his having an intention to withdraw from the kingdom was more general than ever ; and the Royal Family were under the necessity of remaining constantly within the barriers of Paris ; for it was apparent that the shortest excursion might have occasioned a very dangerous insurrection.

A person who had acted an important part in the affairs of France, in consequence

of which he was under the necessity of withdrawing from that country, had long meditated a plan for the re-establishment of the King's authority, which he represented as the common cause of Kings, and had been very active at the different Courts of Europe in his endeavours to bring them to the same way of thinking.

It was natural to expect that his arguments were as likely to succeed with the brother of the Queen of France as with any other potentate. He laid his plan, therefore, before the Emperor Leopold, who was then at Mantua, whom he found disposed as he could have wished, and soon prevailed upon him to adopt it in the most earnest manner. After every thing had been arranged for the execution of this project, it was thought proper to communicate the particulars to the King himself, to obtain his concurrence and co-operation. Count Alphonse Durfort, a French gentleman of known courage and fidelity, who was at



that time at Mantua, was entrusted with this dangerous and very confidential service. At various interviews with the Emperor, the whole particulars of the project were communicated to the Count, who agreed to set out directly for Paris, and, as soon as he should have fulfilled his mission to the King, he was to return to the Emperor with the King's acquiescence; for that was all that was required, and of it no doubt was entertained. The particulars of this project, consisting of twenty-one articles, were given to the Count in writing; but he was desired to get them by heart, lest any intelligence he might receive, or any accident that might happen during the journey, should render it necessary to destroy the paper.

The first article expresses the general design, namely, the restoration of Lewis\*.

\* These articles, as far as the author of this work knows, were never before published. That they are authentic, he has the most complete conviction.

The second announces that the scheme was combined and supported by the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, the Swiss Cantons, and the Circles of the Empire; and asserts that there were assurances from other Powers of Europe that they would not oppose.

The third article is in the following words: L'Empereur fera filer 35,000 hommes sur les frontières de Flandres et du Hainaut; à la même époque les troupes des Cercles se porteront au nombre de 14,000 hommes au moins sur l'Alsace. Les Suisses en même nombre se présenteront sur la frontière du Lionnois et de la Franche Comté. Le Roi de Sardaigne entrera en Dauphiné avec 15,000 hommes. L'Espagne a déjà rassemblé 12,000 hommes dans la Catalogne, et portera à 20,000 les troupes qui menaceront les provinces méridionales. Tous ces différens corps formeront une masse de 100,000 hommes, qui se portera divisée en

cinq colonnes sur chacune des frontières auxquelles les différens Etats correspondent. A ces armées se joindront les régiments restés fidèles, des volontaires armés dont on est sûr, et tous les mécontents des provinces qui n'attendent que du secours pour se déclarer \*.

\* The Emperor will order 35,000 men to march to the frontiers of Flanders and Hainault ; at the same time the troops of the Circles, to the number of 14,000 at least, will march to Alsace. The same number of Swiss will march towards the Lionnois and Franche Comté. The King of Sardinia will enter into Dauphiné with 15,000 men. Spain has already 12,000 in Catalonia ; and will augment to 20,000 the army which will threaten the southern provinces of France. Those different corps amount in all to 100,000 ; which being divided into five columns, will press on the different frontiers of France, next to the countries to which the columns belong. Those armies will be joined by such of the French regiments as have remained faithful, by some armed volunteers who may be depended upon, as well as all those in the provinces who are discontented with the present government, who will declare for the King as soon as the armies approach.

*Article*

*Article IV.* L'Empereur est assuré des bonnes dispositions du Roi de Prusse, et sa Majesté Impériale s'est chargée elle-même de la correspondance directe avec la Cour de Berlin, &c. \*

*Article V.* On aura soin de tenir cette coalition secrète jusqu'au moment de l'explosion ; c'est pourquoi on fera en sorte d'empêcher toute insurrection partielle dans l'intérieur †.

*Article VI.* La paix de la Russie et de la Turquie étant plus que probable dans le courant de Juillet, on n'aura pas à craindre les embarras que la guerre auroit pû occasionner ‖.

In

\* The Emperor is assured of the King of Prussia's good intentions, and has taken upon himself the direct correspondence with the Court of Berlin.

† Care will be taken to keep this coalition secret till the moment of explosion, for which purpose partial insurrections in the interior parts of the kingdom should be prevented.

‖ As a peace betwixt Russia and Turkey will in all probability

In the seventh article the reasons are mentioned at length for believing that one hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient : the principal is, that these armies are to be considered only as auxiliaries to the nobility, the troops, and the natives of France who will declare for the same cause as soon as the Combined Armies shall appear on the frontiers.

*Article VIII.* Every thing to be ready by the end of August. A Protestation by all the branches of the Bourbon family, signed by the Kings of Spain and Naples, and the Prince of Parma, will be published. A Manifesto of the Emperor will appear soon after.

*Article IX.* Quoique l'Empereur soit l'ame et le chef de l'entreprise, il seroit peut-être dangereux pour la Reine qu'il parût en

probability take place in July, nothing is to be feared from the disorders which a continuation of that war might have occasioned.

être

être le premier mobile, et on ne manqueroit pas d'attribuer à la maison d'Autriche ce que l'Assemblée s'efforcera de faire paroître odieux au peuple. C'est pourquoi, et du consentement de l'Empereur, on aura soin de faire paroître avant tout, la Protestation de la maison de Bourbon, et le Manifeste de S. M. I. venant au secours des Princes lésés, prenant la défense des têtes couronnées avec de plus grands moyens, n'en sera que plus imposant \*.

*Articles X. and XI.* entirely regard the

\* Although the Emperor is the soul and chief of the enterprize, it might be dangerous for the Queen that he should appear to be the first mover of it; for whatever is most odious in the eyes of the people, or what the Assembly can make appear so, will be imputed to the House of Austria. For this reason, with the Emperor's consent, the Protestation in the name of the House of Bourbon will appear in the first place; and then his Imperial Majesty's Manifesto in favour of the injured Princes, and in defence of all crowned heads, will appear with greater efficacy.

Protestation

Protestation intended to be published in the name of the Bourbon family. The King and Queen of Naples have seen it; and only wait until it shall be signed by the King of Spain, before they sign it.

*Article XII.* The King of Sardinia is in the best disposition; his troops are ready, and he only waits the signal from the Emperor.

*Article XIII.* The Diet of Ratisbon has not yet taken final resolutions.

*Article XIV.* The return of certain persons sent to other Courts is expected, and the best hopes of their co-operation, or at least of their neutrality, is entertained.

*Article XV.* Every thing being thus arranged, the King and Queen are entreated not to allow this plan to be disturbed by any new ideas, and that they will be very careful to whom they communicate any part of the scheme.

*Article XVI.* The King and Queen are  
warned

warned to place no confidence in M. la Fayette, and also not entirely to trust M. de Montmorin. Mention is made of the King's Declaration to Foreign Courts by his Ambassadors; that it had shocked many, but had not imposed on any person of discernment with regard to the King's *real* sentiments.

*Article XVII.* relates to particular manoeuvres intended to mislead people's conjectures as to the real design.

*Article XVIII.* declares that a correspondence has been always kept up with various Members of the French Parliaments dispersed in different parts of Europe, who are to unite in the first considerable town of France that shall be in the power of the Coalition; and there to compose a Parliament, to establish forms, to pronounce the nullity of the Decrees of the National Assembly, to judge and condemn criminals, and that all possible éclat will be given to this Court.

*Article*



*Article XIX.* Quoique l'on ait désiré jusqu'à présent que leurs Majestés puissent elles-mêmes se procurer leur liberté, la situation présente engage à les supplier très-instamment de n'y plus songer : leur position est bien différente de ce qu'elle étoit avant le 18 Avril, avant que le Roi eut été forcé d'aller à l'Assemblée, et d'écrire la lettre aux Ambassadeurs. L'unique objet dont leurs Majestés doivent s'occuper est de ne rien négliger de ce qui peut discréditer l'Assemblée, et d'employer tous les moyens possibles à augmenter leur popularité, pour en tirer parti quand le moment sera venu, et de manière que le peuple effrayé à l'entrée des armées étrangères en France ne voie son salut que dans sa soumission à l'autorité de S. M. Telle est l'opinion de l'Empereur ; il attache uniquement à ce plan de conduite le succès des mesures qu'il a adoptées, et il demande instamment qu'on éloigne toute autre idée. Ce qui arriveroit à leurs Majestés si dans  
leur

leur fuite elles ne pouvoient échapper a une surveillance barbare le fait fremir d'horreur. S. M. I. croit que la sauvegarde la plus sûre pour leurs Majestés est une armée de 130,000 hommes précédée par des Manifestes menaçans \*.

### *Article*

\* Although until this period it was to be wished that their Majesties had been able to procure their liberty, yet in the present juncture they are entreated not to think of making any attempt for that purpose. Their situation is very different from what it was before the 18th of April, before the King was forced to go to the National Assembly, and write the letter to the Ambassadors.

The principal object which their Majesties ought to attend to, is to neglect nothing which may bring discredit upon the Assembly, and employ every means of augmenting their own popularity ; from which great benefit may be derived hereafter, when the people, terrified at the entrance of foreign troops into France, may see no safety but in submission to his Majesty's authority.

This is the Emperor's opinion ; and he rests all hopes of the success of his measures on this plan of conduct being adhered to. He earnestly entreats every other idea  
may

*Article XX.* relates to the Duc de Polignac, who was to carry on a correspondence with a person in the confidence of the Emperor.

*Article XXI.* recommends full confidence in the Count Alphonse Darfort.

From the reception which the Prussian army met with when they attempted to penetrate into France the following year, many will imagine that this scheme of the Emperor would have had no better success, had it been fairly tried; and possibly their conjecture is just. At the same time it must be acknowledged that there was more reason to expect success at the first period than at the second. The frontier towns were then

may be given up. The dreadful consequences to their Majesties, which might follow an unsuccessful attempt to escape, cannot be thought of without horror. The Emperor thinks that their Majesties' best security is in an army of 130,000 men, preceded by threatening Manifestoes.

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more out of repair, worse provided in military stores, and more weakly garrisoned. The calumnies against the King had not made such impression on the minds of the people. Republican principles were not so widely diffused. The King had not fled from the capital, and undergone all those mortifications to which he was exposed after being stopped at Varennes, and during his return to Paris; circumstances which tended to lower him in the eyes of the populace more than all that had happened before.

But what would have been the effect of this project, had the King completely adopted it, and adhered to the injunctions expressed in the articles communicated to him by the Count Durfort, cannot be known; for the unhappy Prince, being in dread of the utmost violence from the increasing rancour of his enemies, at last listened to a

proposal made to him by M. de Bouillé, who commanded the troops on the frontiers, to attempt to escape with his family out of the kingdom; or at least to Montmedi, a garrisoned town on the frontiers of France, adjoining to the Duchy of Luxembourg. This plan had been long in preparation, and it is probable was known to the Emperor, from the earnest manner in which the King is desired to abandon it in the nineteenth of the articles above enumerated; and there is reason to think that he did not agree to this proposed flight, until to the dread of violence to his family and person a new inducement occurred.

Beside the person above alluded to, there was another ex-minister of France who had also been obliged to fly the country. He was supposed to have enjoyed much of the Queen's confidence; notwithstanding which,

which, and his former eminent situation, the scheme adopted by the Emperor for the re-establishment of the King's authority had been carefully concealed from him ; but in spite of all the care he came to the knowledge of it, and actually procured a copy of the articles given to Count Durfort. His former eminent situation in France, and the Queen's confidence, which he still enjoyed, gave him a just claim, as it was most natural for him to think, to be consulted in whatever regarded the King's restoration ; and the design of excluding him from any part in a measure of so much importance, could not fail to exasperate him against the person whom he thought the cause of this exclusion. Whether he was at all actuated by resentment, or entirely from a persuasion that M. de Bouillé's plan was preferable, he knows best ; but it is believed that he found means to prepossess the Queen

so strongly in favour of the plan proposed by M. de Bouillé, that she prevailed on the King to persevere in it, and to reject the other when it was afterwards communicated to him by the Count Durlfort.

There is one consideration which seems not to have occurred to those Ministers; namely, that in adopting either of their plans the King would be considered as having broken the oath he had taken to continue faithful to the Constitution; and that, after the Declaration made by his Ambassadors at foreign Courts, announced by his Minister in the Assembly, this conduct would appear deceitful in the highest degree to the Nation.

That those two Ministers were sincere in their wishes for the restoration of the King's authority will not be disputed. The point on which they differed was, which  
of

of them should have the honour of doing it. But as this was a point of no manner of importance to their royal master, provided it was done at all, some people blame the one for concealing from the other the plan agreed to by the Emperor for that purpose ; and different people blame that other for counteracting it by the advice he sent to the Queen. And thus it is insinuated that those two Ministers were influenced by jealousy and selfish motives, instead of sacrificing all considerations to the great object of serving the King. This construction seems too severe ; but whether it be so or not, no inference can be drawn to the disadvantage of any existing Minister in any country of Europe : for, even if it could be proved that the two Ministers in question were influenced by motives of interest or ambition, more than by regard for their Sovereign, it ought to be remem-



bered that they were both out of place;  
and nothing is more different than the sentiments of Ministers out of place from those of Ministers who are in.

## CHAPTER XXV.

*The Royal Family escape from Paris—are stopped at Varennes—Various Incidents on that Occasion—They are obliged to return to Paris—Reflections.*

IN consequence of the plan formed by M. de Bouillé for the escape of the Royal Family, the King and Queen, without any attendant, came on the 11th of June to the apartment of Madame de Rochereuil, a Lady in the Queen's service; and, after examining the rooms and their communications minutely, informed her that they were needed for another person. This apartment communicated by a corridor with the Queen's.

On the 17th, as M. Dumoustier, who had formerly belonged to the Garde-du-Corps,

was walking alone in the garden of the Tuileries, a person whom he did not know accosted him, and desired that he would follow him into the palace. Dumoustier was directly conducted to the King, to whom he had never before had the honour of speaking. His Majesty desired that he might order for himself, and for Messrs. Maldent and Valory, two of his old companions, three courier's jackets of a yellow colour; and that he should walk the same evening on the quay of the Pont Royal, where he would be joined by a person who would give him farther instructions.

All these directions were carefully attended to; and, in consequence of the instructions given to Dumoustier by the unknown person at the quay, Valory went on the 20th to Bondy to order horses and wait there for the King. Dumoustier was at the Porte Saint Martin with a coach and four. A coach with only two horses arrived about  
eleven

eleven in the Cour des Princes. M. Mallet entered the palace privately at nine in the evening, and was conducted into a small chamber, where he remained until near twelve. Nothing extraordinary was observed in the appearance or conduct of any of the Royal Family. They retired at their usual hour; and the usual orders were given for the following day,

The Queen then gave orders that the Prince and Princess Royal should be dressed, and conducted to a room where she herself was with the King and the Princess Elizabeth. There were besides two unknown men, one of whom immediately was directed to conduct the two female attendants on the Prince and Princess Royal to a chaise which was found waiting for them on the Quai Voltaire. Having placed them in the carriage, their conductor withdrew; and the ladies were driven to Claye. The other unknown person accompanied the Prince  
and

and Princess Royal and Madame de Tourzel by the apartment of Madame de Rochereuil into the Cour des Princes ; where having entered the coach with two horses, they were driven to the Caroussel, and soon joined by the Queen and the Princess Elizabeth who came together without any attendant, and were helped into the carriage by the coachman. The King came last, attended by M. Maldent who mounted behind the coach, which was immediately driven to the Porte Saint Martin ; and having exchanged it for the carriage with four horses which awaited them under the care of M. Dumoustier, they were all driven to Bondy, where M. Valory had horses in readiness. The chaise with the two ladies joined them on the road. Although they came out of the carriage at some of the post-houses, and the King conversed familiarly and with apparent ease with several persons he met there, they were not once suspected to be  
other

other than the characters they assumed, until they arrived at St. Meneshould, about 170 miles from Paris—a town since distinguished by the memorable stand made by the French under the command of Dnmourier.

Monfieur the King's brother and his confort were comprehended in M. de Bouillé's plan. They left the palace of Luxembourg about the same time that the King and Queen left the Tuileries; but it was agreed for various reasons that they should take a different road; and accordingly directing their course by Flanders, they arrived safely at Mons.

The King and Queen were not so fortunate, though at this place they may naturally be supposed to have thought all their own danger over, to have been solicitous only about that of Monfieur and Madame, and wishing them the same good fortune with themselves. Drouet, the postmaster at St. Mene-

St. Menchould, had never seen either the King or Queen ; but he had seen a portrait of her Majesty, and was struck with the resemblance of that portrait to his guest, the pretended Baroness Kreff, which was the name the Queen had assumed. This, however, might have passed without making much impression, had not he recollected that two detachments, the one of hussars, and the other of dragoons, had arrived the same day at St. Menchould. The former had already left the town ; the latter were still in it. While he was ruminating on this circumstance, which he thought a little extraordinary, he observed the officer who commanded the dragoons speaking to one of the couriers in a manner somewhat mysterious, while the other couriers, having paid the former postillions too liberally, were impatiently pushing the new ones to make haste. These observations revived the suspicions which the sight of the Queen had

raised in the mind of Drouet ; but still they did not form a presumption strong enough to justify him in stopping the carriages, which were allowed to proceed. But soon after their departure, when Drouet perceived that the dragoons were preparing to follow them, his suspicions amounting in his mind to a certainty, without farther hesitation he called *To arms!* asserting that it certainly was the Royal Family that had just passed ; that it was the duty of good citizens to prevent their going out of the kingdom ; and he instigated all around to hinder the dragoons from following the carriages. Drouet was believed in his assertions ; and, what seems a little unaccountable, his directions were literally followed. The whole detachment of dragoons remained passive, instead of silencing Drouet, and riding after the King, as might have been expected. Drouet, with a person of the name of Guillaume, set out on horseback with all expedition



dition to Clermont, and was there informed, that instead of going to Metz, as the couriers who attended the carriages had given out, they had taken the road to Varennes, on which he and his companion by a cross road, impracticable to carriages, went to that place, and arrived at the inn of the Bras d'Or some minutes before the King.

They informed Le Blanc, the innkeeper, that two carriages were on the point of arriving with the King and Royal Family, who were secretly withdrawing from the kingdom ; that it was every body's duty to stop them ; and there was not a moment to be lost. Le Blanc immediately ran with this intelligence to the Procureur Syndic, who acted as Chief Magistrate in the absence of the Mayor, who being a member of the National Assembly was then at Paris. The Procureur sent his servants to rouse all the Municipal Officers, the National Guards belonging to the town, and the inhabitants in

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general.

general. Drouet and Guillaume dragged a loaded waggon which they perceived in the street, and overset it across the bridge, to obstruct the passage of the carriages in case they attempted to proceed by force through the town. Le Blanc with his brother returned to the inn, armed themselves, and with a few followers met the carriages, and ordered them to stop. The postillions were continuing to proceed. They were threatened to be fired upon. "We are all good patriots," cried the couriers, "provided with regular passports for Frankfort." "*Patriotes ou non,*" replied Le Blanc, "*pied à terre.*" The Procureur Syndic then approached the carriage which was drawn by six horses, followed by three servants on horseback, the three couriers in yellow jackets being on the coach box. He was presented with a passport for the Baroness Kroff, her family and attendants, going to Frankfort. It was signed *Louis*, and beneath *Montmorin*. The  
Magistrate,

Magistrate, without discovering that he had any suspicion of the persons, alleged that it was too late to examine the passport, it being then midnight; that the roads were very bad, and that it would be dangerous in many respects for them to attempt to go on before day-break; and he offered to accommodate the whole company in his own house until then. This offer was accepted, partly from a dread of the consequence of attempting to proceed by force, and partly from an expectation that the arrival of troops would oblige the magistrates to submit in their turn.

Soon after a party of hussars, commanded by an aide-de-camp of M. de Bouillé, arrived. They drew up before the Procureur's house. This magistrate, not being as yet absolutely certain that his guests were in reality the Royal Family, went to the house of M. de Lon, a judge, who had seen the King, and begged that he would accompany him back  
to

to ascertain the point, which the Judge agreed to. On his return the Procureur, addressing the officer who commanded the hussars, said, "that as there was reason to think it was the King whom they had stopped, it was hoped that he and his men were too good citizens not to lend their aid to, prevent his withdrawing out of the kingdom."

The Procureur then ascended with M. de Lon into the chamber where the Royal Family were; the instant that De Lon threw his eyes on the King, he signified by an expressive look to the Magistrate that it was unquestionably he.

The unhappy Prince, having observed this, thought that all farther dissimulation would be vain; turning therefore with great emotion to the Procureur, he said—"Oui, je suis votre Roi. Placé dans la capitale au milieu des poignards et des bayonnettes, je viens chercher en province, au milieu de

mes fideles fujets, la liberté et la paix dont vous jouiffez tous. Je ne puis plus refter à Paris fans y mourir, ma famille et moi \*."

He concluded this affecting address by conjuring the Magiftrate and thofe around to affift him in making his efcape. The Procureur replied, that he had fworn to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and his Majesty ; and that in his own opinion he fhould betray all three by doing what was required. He begged therefore that the King would give over thoughts of proceeding farther, and would confent to return to the capital. The Queen, fhocked with the idea of being dragged back to Paris, taking the Dauphin in her arms, in the moft pathetic terms conjured the Magiftrate, and all

\* Yes, I am your King. Being furrounded in the capital by daggers and bayonets, I come to my faithful fubjects of this province in fearch of that liberty and fafety which you all enjoy. My family and I were in continual danger of being murdered at Paris.

who heard her, to save the lives of their King and his children by assisting them to escape; for that misery and ruin awaited them at the capital.

But the Procureur and others continuing to urge the necessity of their returning, the King declared "that he had no design to withdraw from the kingdom; that his intention was to go no farther than to Mont-médi; that the national guards might accompany him; and that he had a right by the Constitution to travel within the kingdom without controul." They shewed him the decree by which he was obliged never to go to a greater distance than twenty leagues from the National Assembly. The officer who commanded the national guards observing that the hussars were ordered to perform some evolutions, suspected there was an intention of seizing the cannon which pointed on the Procureur's house. He therefore made them be moved to

the extremities of the street, and guarded by strong parties of his men ; by which manœuvre the hussars were placed between two batteries. The officer who commanded the hussars attempting to move his detachment out of this situation, it was imagined that he intended to go in search of other troops of cavalry, which were supposed to be on the road, and then to return in greater force. On this suspicion the major of the national guard refused to let them pass. Their commanding officer struck at the major with his sabre ; the other avoided the stroke, fired his pistol, and wounded the dragoon officer. This combat took place in sight of the whole party of hussars, who remained passive spectators ; and when their officer was carried into a house on account of his wound, they demanded that an officer of the national guards might be appointed to command them. In whatever intention these hussars had come to Varennes, it is evident

evident from their conduct that they were at this period more inclined to join the citizens than to obey their officer ; they had probably been gained over by the national guards immediately after they entered the town.

During these transactions, the Procureur, the Judge, and the municipal officers were endeavouring to persuade the King to return to the capital ; to which both he and the Queen expressed the greatest aversion. One of the national gendarmerie suddenly arrived ; he said he had escaped a thousand chances of being stopped ; for that many parties of cavalry patrolled the roads near the town, and that the son of General de Bouillé was at no great distance with a body of troops. Soon after an aide-de-camp of M. La Fayette arrived. He brought orders from the National Assembly, which he presented to the King. He represented to him the universal uneasiness which his



withdrawing had occasioned at the capital, and the danger of his removing so near the frontiers. The King repeated his former assertions, that he never intended to go out of France; "that his plan was to go no further than Montmedi—there he would be out of the power of a set of men who misled the populace of Paris, who overawed the National Assembly, and seemed bent on his ruin, that of the monarchy, and of the French nation. That when he and his family should be safe at Montmedi, the people of France would have it in their power to manifest their real inclination with regard to him, and also with regard to those leaders of the populace of Paris, who, by having their King and his family in their hands, expected to enslave them and tyrannize over the whole kingdom." And he again insisted on proceeding on his journey, inviting the Procureur and national guards to accompany him, \*The answer to all  
this

this was a repetition of the former entreaties that his Majesty would return to Paris. M. Mangin, a surgeon, with twelve or fourteen of the inhabitants on horseback, had with wonderful zeal and activity rode around all the villages near Varennes propagating the news, and animating the people to hasten to the assistance of the magistrates ; and, as the morning was now beginning to break, they brought accounts of parties of cavalry that had been seen in the neighbourhood. Those accounts were soon after verified by an attempt made by one party to enter the town, who were repulsed by the national guards. It was now thought dangerous to retain the Royal Family any longer so near the frontiers ; and instead of the entreaties which had been hitherto used to induce the King to return to the capital, a steady declaration was made to him of the absolute necessity of his complying with that measure.

The Royal Family were obliged to set out, guarded by a numerous band of national guards, and accompanied by the municipal officers of Varennes. The march was hardly commenced when a considerable body of troops, particularly a detachment of the regiment of Royal Allemand were seen on a height at no great distance ; they seemed to meditate an attack ; on observing the steady countenance of the escort they desisted.

A party of hussars, however, commanded by the son of General Bouillé, attempted to pass a river, with a view to have intercepted the national guards, or to harass and retard them in their march, until such time as all the detachments of cavalry which were on the road joining, they might be able to rescue the King ; but in this attempt he failed.

It will be thought that the movements of so many troops might have created suspicion

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cion that some extraordinary project was carrying on ; but M. de Bouillé had precluded any surprise on that account, by a public declaration some time before, that the circumstances of the times rendered an encampment near Montmedi highly expedient. He had gone himself on the 18th of June, and with several officers had reconnoitred the ground on which the camp was to be pitched, and had given orders for a great quantity of bread to be baked and in readiness for the troops. He had reviewed the regiment of Royal Allemand at Stenay, and been very liberal in his praises both of officers and men ; and, on the pretext of a valuable treasure being to pass that way, he ordered detachments of dragoons and hussars to patrol from the first post, after passing Chalons on the road from Paris, all the way to Montmedi. Those detachments were all commanded by chosen and confidential officers, who were authorised to in-

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form the troops under their command that it was the King they were protecting, at any time when they should think such information necessary. Their orders also were that, when they had seen the Royal carriages pass, each detachment was at a proper distance to follow, and cover their escape all the way to Montmedi, where the whole were to rendezvous, and join the troops which would be found there. So that the plan seems to have been contrived with judgment, and executed with address, until the arrival of the Royal Family at St. Menchould and Varennes. It is thought that Drouet might have been seized by the dragoons at St. Menchould, and prevented from raising the country; that the hussars at Varennes might have cleared the way for the carriages, and enabled them to proceed before the National Guards were assembled in force. It is said that the officer who commanded them proposed this, but was prevented

prevented by the King. It is also believed by some, that if all the detachments on the road had joined that of the Royal Allemand which appeared in the heights between Varennes and Clermont, and had made a brisk attack on the National Guards, they might even then have rescued the Royal Family, and conducted them to Montmedi. A dread of endangering the lives of the King and Queen, it is probable, prevented any of those attempts from being made.

What rendered the failure of M. de Bouillé's plan more vexatious as well as more surprising is, that almost all the difficulties were fortunately surmounted, and it was on the point of succeeding when it was blasted. By much the greatest difficulty was to get the Royal Family clear out of the Tuileries and Louvre, at a time when there was so great a suspicion of their intending to escape, and so many persons placed near them merely for the purpose of watching their conduct;

conduct ; and next to this it was most difficult to get them out of Paris. These, however, were happily accomplished ; but still there was great reason to dread that some of the party would be known by the people at the post-houses near the capital. *That* also was happily avoided ; and they arrived, without creating the least suspicion, not only to such a distance as infinitely diminished the chance of being known by the people at the post-houses, but also at a part of the country where such a number of troops were stationed for their protection as, it might have been thought, would have prevented them from being stopped, even although they should have been known. It seems likewise surprising, that a project so well combined, and the execution of which was entrusted to chosen men, mostly of the military profession, and whose interest, honour, and lives, were all strongly involved in its success, should have been frustrated by  
men

men unconnected with and unknown to each other, who had no particular interest in the matter. What renders this still more remarkable is, that the natural inclination of the heart is to assist those who are obliged to fly or conceal themselves to save their lives, and to consider those who betray them as worthless men. The supposed guilt of the fugitive will not save their betrayers from the imputation. They will be put on a footing with the odious and despicable class of spies and informers which certain Governments employ—a set of wretches who, despised even by those who hire them, attend coffee-houses and public meetings on purpose to catch unguarded expressions, to pervert, and to betray. In vain do such characters endeavour to screen themselves from hatred, by pleading their utility, and the support they give to Government. These pleas may be urged with more force  
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in favour of hangmen, but cannot render the profession less disgraceful.

The bias of the human heart to assist the unfortunate who are flying to save their lives, is strongest when the fugitives are of a tender age, the weaker sex, or of royal rank. All those motives were combined on the present occasion.

Of the great number of persons of both sexes who were privy to the concealment and escape of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, several of whom discovered the King by accident, and without having been entrusted with the secret, it is probable that some were no great friends to royalty, yet every one was faithful and zealous to assist the unhappy Prince in his escape, although death was denounced against all who concealed him, and a great reward proclaimed to those who should arrest him. Thirty thousand pounds of reward was offered by  
Government

Government to any one who should deliver up the Prince Pretender, or give information where he was concealed, when he was lurking in the highlands of Scotland, after the battle of Culloden. The wealth of the Indies would not have bribed the poorest highlander in Scotland to have done what would have rendered him in the eyes of his countrymen, and in his own, for ever infamous. And many who were enemies to the cause of that unfortunate person rejected the idea of stopping him in his flight, or betraying him into the hands of his pursuers.

It will be said that the cases are different, and it must be acknowledged they are so; in the two last mentioned certain death attended the fugitives if stopped, which was not to be apprehended in the other. Nobody could have stopped Charles the Second or the Young Pretender from a good motive; their

their armies were dispersed, and there was no reason for preventing their escape, except to have them put to death and to get the reward. Lewis, it will be said, was flying to raise a civil war, and to plunge the nation again into slavery. Yet, after every allowance of this kind, it will be thought that humane and well disposed villagers would have been more affected by the affliction of the Royal Family than by such remote consequences. They saw the King and Queen in an agony of dread at the thoughts of being detained, which it might have been expected would have damped the inclination to arrest and carry them back to Paris. The fact was, it did not; the whole country shewed eagerness and activity to both; which is a strong proof of the mistake of those who strenuously asserted, that however much the Revolution might be liked by the Parisians, it was hated by the people at large. And the  
disposition

disposition of the inhabitants of this particular part of France might have indicated to the Prussians who invaded it by the same quarter soon after, in the hopes of being joined and assisted by the natives, what kind of junction and assistance they had reason to expect.

It was imagined that the preventing the escape of the Royal Family would have precluded many evils which otherwise were likely to happen. It is hardly possible, however, to conceive that more mischief and misery could have taken place in any supposable event than has actually happened. The person indeed to whom the most dreadful portion of those calamities is to be imputed, was a member of the Constituent Assembly ; but his influence there was small, and there was little probability that such a pale emaciated weakly being as Robespierre was to become the giant of the

Revolution, and have it in his power to gratify a thirst for blood as insatiable as that attributed to any monster of the same race recorded in history or fable.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

*The Conduct of the National Assembly—Of the Parisian Populace—The King and Queen examined by Commissioners from the Assembly—Suspension of the King from his Public Functions—Universal Discussions—Le Républicain—M. de Condorcet—M. Brissot—Roberespierre.*

**A**BOUT eight in the morning of the 21st of June the flight of the Royal Family was known at Paris. The cannon placed near the statue of Henry the Fourth were fired, the tocsin sounded, and the National Guards were summoned to assemble under arms at the places of rendezvous of their sections. The news spread rapidly; the people hurried from all quarters to the gardens of the Tuileries and of the Lux-

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embourg ; the first sensation was surprise ; that was soon converted into indignation against the fugitives. All signs with the portraits of the King or Queen, all emblems of royalty, were torn down and trampled under foot. The section of the Luxembourg ordered a banner, which they had received as a present from Monsieur, to be publicly torn in pieces ; a man was obliged to erase his name from above his shop because he was called Louis. The officer who commanded the guard at the Tuileries was in danger of falling a victim to the first impulse of popular fury ; which in France is more blind, precipitate, and bloody, than in any other country. He was saved by the interposition of the National Guards ; who at this time consisted of the most respectable tradespeople of Paris, and were more under the controul of discipline and reason than the mob of St. Antoine.

The steady and prudent conduct of the  
National

National Assembly had great effect in preventing the disorders which were to be dreaded, in a turbulent city like Paris, from such an event as the King's withdrawing. They ordained that the decrees of the Assembly should immediately have the force of law, and that the Minister of Justice should apply the seal of the State to them without further sanction or ceremony. They decreed that the National Guards should remain under arms immovable, until they received orders from those authorised by the Assembly. They ordered the Ministers of State to the bar, to receive instructions from the Assembly. They dispatched couriers to all the departments with orders to the Magistrates and Commanding Officers of the Line and National Guards to stop all travellers, to prevent any person from going out of the kingdom, and to preserve tranquillity. They prescribed a new oath of fidelity to



all the military, by which they engaged to obey no orders but those given in consequence of decrees of the Assembly ; and that they would never permit an invasion of the French territory by foreigners.

M. de la Fayette, having been in some danger from the populace, was protected by the National guards ; and when it was announced that he waited the orders of the Assembly, some insinuations were thrown out to his disadvantage. These were repelled by M. Barnave, who shewed the danger and injustice of countenancing suspicions without good grounds ; adding, that La Fayette had proved himself the friend of liberty from the beginning of the Revolution, and merited the utmost confidence of the Assembly. He was accordingly confirmed in the command of the National Guards. This behaviour was the more generous on the part of Barnave, because he and

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La Fayette had been for some time before on ill terms.

The new oath was taken in the Assembly by Messrs. de Rochambeau, La Fayette, D'Affry, and all the Officers of the Line, as well as of the Swiss and National Guards then in Paris.

On the morning after his departure a paper was delivered to M. de la Port, Intendant of the King's household, with directions that he should carry it to the National Assembly. It contained an address to the French Nation, written entirely by the King himself, in which he complains of the Assembly, gives the reasons of his withdrawing from a city where he was not free, where his life was in danger, and enumerates facts to prove those assertions. The King on this occasion does not seem to have sufficiently reflected on the danger to which he exposed an old and faithful servant by this dangerous commission, as the Assembly

might have been so irritated at the King's flight, and at his seeming dislike of the Constitution, notwithstanding his late Declaration to foreign Courts, as to have wreaked their anger on M. de la Port, whom it was natural for them to have suspected of having been privy to or assisting in his flight. They immediately ordered the Declaration to be read, and listened with profound attention and without any interruption. It was ordered to be printed and published. A Proclamation, of which the following is a translation, was soon after made in all the public places and streets of Paris :

“ The National Assembly declares to the citizens of Paris and to all the empire, that the same courage which has conducted the Assembly in the most difficult circumstances will not abandon it at this emergency. The most speedy and effectual measures have been taken to stop the flight of the King. The Assembly are to continue their sittings

without interruption ; and the citizens of Paris are required to hold themselves in readiness to march at the first notice."

The President then informed the Assembly, that an officer of the National Guards had brought a letter addressed to the Queen, which had been intercepted ; but that he doubted if even the present situation of affairs would justify a breach of public confidence, or entitle them to open it. It was universally agreed that it should not be opened.

When those resolutions which were thought most pressingly necessary had been decreed, M. Beauharnois the President said, " If no member has any thing farther to propose, we may pass to the order of the day."

The Assembly immediately resumed the discussion of the Penal Code, in which they had been employed before the King's flight was known. An answer to the Declaration which the King had left behind him,  
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and which had been read in the Assembly, was ordered to be made by a Committee. It was addressed, like the other, to the French Nation. Being approved by the Assembly, it was immediately published and dispersed all over France. The following is the last paragraph : “ Il est, envers les grandes nations, des attentats que la générosité seule peut faire oublier. Le Peuple François étoit fier dans la servitude. Il montrera les vertus et l'héroïsme de la Liberté. Que les ennemis de la Constitution le sachent : Pour asservir de nouveau le territoire de cet empire, il faudroit anéantir la Nation. Le despotisme formera, s'il le veut, une pareille entreprise : il sera vaincu ; ou, à la suite de son affreux triomphe, il ne trouvera que des ruines \*.”

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\* There are certain crimes against a great Nation, which nothing but generosity can forgive. The French People displayed a proud spirit even when they were in servitude.

The tragedy of Brutus was acted at one of the theatres, and the people allowed to enter gratis. This could be done with no other view than that of inflaming their minds with republican ideas. Handbills abusive of the Royal Family were circulated, and a pamphlet entitled "*Mémoires du Ci-devant Roi*" was vociferated through the streets.

The undisturbed countenance maintained by the National Assembly removed the consternation which, at the first news of the King's flight, had filled the minds of many of the citizens. The town of Paris remained in unexpected tranquillity. The

servitude. They will now display the virtues and the heroism of Liberty. Let the enemies of the Constitution be aware of this: To reduce this country again to slavery, the nation must be annihilated. Let despotism form that project, if it pleases. It will either be defeated, or after its horrible triumph nothing but ruins will be found.

greatest agitation proceeded from the eagerness with which the inhabitants related the circumstances of the escape ; for, as all had in a short time received *some* account, there were more relaters than listeners ; each endeavouring to snatch the narrative out of the mouth of the other, and insisting that *her* edition was the most genuine. Towards the evening of the 23d, the subject began to grow stale. It had already maintained its ground as a topic of universal conversation several hours longer than any thing was ever known to have done at Paris. At last it appeared to languish : other subjects of greater novelty began to shove it off the tapis ; and it is believed by those who were at Paris at the time, that the flight of the Royal Family would have been little spoken of on the 25th of June, if the news had not arrived about nine of the evening of the 23d, that they had been stopped at Varennes. This was first brought to Paris by

M. Mangin,

M. Mangin, the surgeon above mentioned, As soon as the National Assembly had received this intelligence, they decreed that immediate measures should be taken for the protection of the King, the Heir of the Throne, and the rest of the Royal Family ; that Messrs. Latour-Maubourg, Petion, and Barnave, all members of the National Assembly, should set out directly to meet them, with full powers to order whatever they should think necessary for the security and accommodation of the Royal Family ; the Assembly particularly recommending to them to be attentive in preserving all the respect due to the royal dignity. M. Dumas, the Adjutant General of the Army, was ordered to accompany them, and see the orders of the Commissioners put in execution. The Commissioners set out with all expedition, and met the Royal Family at Epernay, about twenty miles from Chalons on the side next to Paris. Having  
read



read to the King the decree of the National Assembly, the three Commissioners placed themselves in the same carriage with the King and the Queen, and proceeded to Meaux. The King's journey from Varennes to Epernay, independent of the circumstance of its being against his will, had been most oppressive from the excessive heat of the weather, from the crowds that flocked round the carriage, and from the slowness; for, as the Guards were on foot, the horses were allowed to move no faster than the soldiers could march. But as there still were rumours of the danger of a rescue, the Commissioners, ordering the infantry to remain behind, the Royal Family were attended for the rest of the journey by cavalry only, by which means their misery was somewhat shortened.

As the sad procession moved through Paris to the Tuileries, the streets were crowded with the populace; some of whom  
taking

taking off their hats as the Royal Family approached, the insulting order "*Cbâpeau sur la tête, que personne ne se decouvre,*" was heard, and obeyed \*. On the seat of the King's carriage the three gardes-du-corps, who had acted as couriers, were seated with their arms bound; and the carriage was followed by an open cabriolet, in which Drouet was placed, crowned with laurel.

This was the third time that the Parisian mob had, within a short period, been gratified with the spectacle of their Sovereign dragged as a prisoner through their city; but this was by much the most deplorable of the three. Ever since the day that Perseus the last king of Macedon and his family were carried through the streets of Rome before the triumphal car of Paulus

\* This seems to be rather a deviation from the spirit of the decree of the Assembly, ordaining the Commissioners above all things to be attentive that the respect due to the royal dignity should be preserved.

Emilius, no scene so humiliating to royalty has been exhibited in the world.

Among other differences which may exist between the characters of the Roman and the French victors, the former, as history informs us, was so much affected with the fate of the Macedonian Monarch, that he shed tears when he first received him as a prisoner. No similar weakness is recorded of Drouet.

When the unfortunate family of France arrived at the Tuileries, the gardens were full. Some were present who had the feelings of men. Turning with sudden emotion from the sight of the King and Queen, their eyes fell on the Duke of Orleans; who, in a circle of Deputies at a small distance, seemed to be a gay spectator of the melancholy scene.

As the faithful gardes-du-corps were untied from the coach-box, they were threatened with being instantly torn in pieces by  
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the savage fury of the populace. The Commissioners were obliged to beg that such an outrage might not be executed before the faces of the Royal Family ; but that the criminals might be reserved for the just sentence of the law. As this was not renouncing but only postponing a pleasure, the request of the Commissioners was granted.

The unhappy family were again lodged in the Tuileries under the responsibility of M. de la Fayette. Several tents were pitched in the garden, and all the avenues were occupied by National Guards under his command. He has been greatly censured for the strictness with which the orders of the Assembly were obeyed in this particular. Considering the recent escape of the Royal Family, the danger which he himself had been in, and the suspicions which still existed against him, it is not surprising that he should have been as attentive as possible to prevent a repetition of the same event.

The following day, Commissioners appointed by the Assembly waited on the King, to take his declaration in writing respecting his motives for having withdrawn from the capital.

His Majesty assigned as his principal motives " the insults he and his family had received, and the danger he conceived them to be in from those insults not having been punished. That his design was not to go out of the kingdom, but only to repair to Montmedi, where he would have been better situated than in the capital for opposing the attempts of foreign powers, and from whence he could have with ease repaired to any other part of the frontiers where his presence might have been requisite. That another object he had in view was to ascertain what the real disposition of the nation was respecting the Constitution; which had been variously represented to him, but which he now knew to be decidedly

cidedly in its favour. That he wished to prove to France and all Europe that he was at liberty ; and not a prisoner, as was believed by many. That as he had it not in his power to quit Paris publicly, he had left it secretly ; but without any concert with foreign powers, with his own relations, or any French emigrant. That he had ordered the three persons who had accompanied him as couriers to provide themselves with travelling jackets, because they were to be sent with dispatches ; and that he had not communicated any thing more to them until the day of their departure. That the passport was obtained for a foreign country, because there are none given for travelling within the kingdom. That if he had intended to go out of the kingdom, he would not have ordered his Memorial addressed to the French Nation to be made public the day after leaving the Tuileries, but would have

delayed until he had at least passed the frontiers."

In the difficult situation in which Lewis was placed, there were more of his well-wishers who excused than believed every article of this Declaration ; by his enemies it was represented as a continued prevarication.

The Commissioners next waited on the Queen, who likewise signed a Declaration importing, " that when she saw that the King was resolved to quit the capital with his children, no consideration would have prevailed on her not to accompany him ; but that she did it the more willingly on account of his positive assurances that he would not go out of the kingdom : that if he had had any such intention, she would have used all her influence to have turned him from it." The rest of her Declaration shews her anxiety to exculpate the female

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attendants

attendants and the couriers, asserting that they had no previous knowledge of the destination or object of their journey.

When the first part of this Declaration was read in the National Assembly, some of the Deputies burst into an indecent laugh. Long before the French had any wish to become republicans, and to affect roughness of manners as suitable to that character, many of them had lost a great part of that decorum and politeness for which the nation in general was so much distinguished. During the interval between the return of the King from Varennes and his acceptance of the Constitution, an Officer of the National Guards played at fives one day with the Dauphin to amuse the child, in the presence of the Queen. The Officer striking the ball obliquely, it had very near hit her; on which, by way of apology, he politely exclaimed, "Eh, mon Dieu! ma



boule va tout de travers comme l'ancien regime."

The question, whether the King was subject to trial or punishment, was under discussion at this period all over France, but particularly in the capital. The humiliating state in which the King had been exhibited to the eyes of the populace, from the time he was arrested at Varennes until his return to Paris, had tended more to lower their esteem than to raise their compassion for their unfortunate sovereign ; and great pains had been taken to represent his flight as a proof of his profound dissimulation, as a breach of the oath he had taken to support the Constitution, and as a strong presumption of his intention to join the foreign forces and the emigrants who were supposed to be then preparing to invade France. *Le Roi, peut-il être mis en jugement?* became the universal topic of discourse, and a question on which  
every

every scribbler thought he had as good a right to publish *son opinion*, as any Member of the National Assembly. On the whole the voices went greatly against the King. Some enthusiasts thought the existence of any degree of freedom in France depended on his being immediately dethroned. Others who cared little about the matter, joined from mere wantonness in the clamour; which, as it was agreeable to the wishes, was supposed to be encouraged and excited by the adherents of the Duke of Orleans, who expected that he would be appointed Regent during the minority of the Dauphin; for, even on the supposition of Lewis the Sixteenth being divested of the crown, there was hardly any idea of its not being immediately placed on the head of another.

Republican principles had made little progress at this period in France. But

there happened to be a small band of determined republicans in the capital; the most distinguished were the Marquis of Condorcet, Brissot, and Thomas Paine; none of them were Members of the Constituent Assembly. Those men thought the present moment favourable for spreading their opinions; and were not without hopes that they might improve the present rage for the *déchéance* into a passion for a republican form of government. With this view they formed themselves into a society, and published a periodical paper to which all occasionally contributed, entitled *Le Républicain, ou Le Défenseur du Gouvernement Représentatif*. In the very first number of this work they unfold their design with the greatest openness; observing that the calmness in which the inhabitants of Paris had remained during the absence of the King was a proof “ que l'absence d'un Roi vaut mieux

mieux que sa présence, et qu'il n'est pas seulement une superfluité politique, mais encore un fardeau très-lourd qui pèse sur toute la nation.

“ Il a abdiqué, il a déserté son poste dans le gouvernement. L'abdication, la désertion sont caractérisées, non par la longueur de l'absence, mais par le seul acte de la fuite; ici l'acte est tout, et le temps n'est rien. Nous ne le connoissons plus que comme un individu dans la foule, comme M. Louis Bourbon.”

Soon after the appearance of this paper, the famous Abbé Sieyès published some answers to the arguments adduced in it, and declared his intention of supporting what he calls “ l'Opinion Monarchique contre le Système Républicain.” All the Abbé's celebrity for metaphysical acuteness did not intimidate Thomas Paine from accepting the challenge, declaring that he was so convinced of the superiority of his own system,

that

that he would occupy no more than fifty pages in proving it, leaving his antagonist the liberty of taking as many pages as he pleased to refute his arguments\*. It is not known whether it was the succeeding events of the Revolution, or the arguments of Thomas Paine, that had most influence with the Abbé; but it is certain that he has renounced l'Opinion Monarchique, and is now devoted to the Système Républicain, to which it is not doubted that he will adhere, until events as extraordinary or arguments more powerful convince him of his present error, and oblige him to return to his ancient creed.

In a paper written by Condorcet, he endeavours to refute that just and powerful argument in favour of monarchical government, namely, that a legal King is the best

\* The papers written by Thomas Paine for this work were translated into French by the Marchioness of Condorcet.

security against a tyrant ; because a power that is understood and is limited by the articles of the Constitution is less formidable than the usurped and undefined power of ambitious citizens ; and also because the ascertained power of a hereditary King is the most effectual means of precluding their hopes and stopping their ambitious views. Among other arguments to prove that there is less danger of this now than there was in the days of Sylla and Cæsar, of Guise or Cromwell, he insists that the art of printing, the liberty of the press, and the great number of newspapers, will with certainty preserve mankind from similar usurpations in future. “ Pour tout homme qui a lu avec attention,” said Condorcet, “ l’histoire de l’usurpation de Cromwel, il est évident qu’une seule gazette eut suffi pour en arrêter le succès ; il est évident que si le peuple d’Angleterre eût su lire d’autres livres que la Bible, l’hypocrite, démasqué dès ses premiers

miers pas, eut bientôt cessé d'être dangereux\*."

The unhappy Condorcet lived to see this argument refuted by Robespierre, who, in spite of all the newspapers in France, usurped despotic power, shed more blood than all the French Kings since Charles IX. and whose tyranny was not put an end to by the art of printing.

Brissot was not so elegant a writer as Condorcet, but with less genius he possessed more ardour in the cause in which he engaged. His love of freedom, as he himself hints, he caught in his early youth from the conversation of Englishmen. "Le hazard amena deux Anglois dans ma patrie; j'ap-

\* It is evident to every man who has read with attention the history of the usurpation of Cromwell, that a single newspaper would have prevented its success. Had the English of those days been in the habit of reading other books besides the Bible, the hypocrite would have been unmasked and no longer dangerous.

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pris l'Anglois, et cette circonstance à décidé de mon fort \*."

His mind was fired with admiration of the ancient republics ; but having little expectation of seeing his favourite system established in France, he went to America, with a view to examine whether he could find a tolerable establishment there, and in the intention of carrying his wife and family to that country if he found a situation to his mind. The Revolution began in this interval. He immediately returned to France ; and, unfortunately for him, abandoning the project of carrying his family to America, he endeavoured with all possible assiduity to diffuse among his own countrymen those principles and sentiments which were confirmed in his mind by his residence in America. Brissot was more formed for speculation than for action ; and from a

\* Réponse de Jacques-Pierre Brissot à tous les Libellistes qui ont attaqué et attaquent sa Vie passée.



want of experience he did not give proper weight to the difficulties that stood in the way of the plans to which his affections were attached, and with which his imagination was enamoured. Had he adhered to his early design, which he himself informs us was to “*inoculer aux François les principes de la Constitution Angloise\**,” he would have applied his talents and industry in support of the Constitution 1789 ; but he imagined that the flight of the King and the disposition of the people rendered the immediate establishment of a republic in France practicable. He therefore joined his efforts with those of others, to convince the nation that the best measure they could adopt would be the abolition of royalty ; for that, in preserving it, they should risk a thousand dangers in case they would re-establish Lewis XVI. And in one of his publications he reasoned in this manner : “*If Lewis XVI.*

\* Reponse de Jacques-Pierre Brissot, &c. &c.

is re-placed on the throne, the Nation will fall into anarchy; for nobody will obey him, *car il a perdu la confiance de la Nation*. If you place another on the throne, and confine him as a prisoner, this will be thought cruel, you will be considered as barbarians: if you allow him to be at liberty, he will fly the kingdom, will be followed by many, and the same scenes will commence in France that filled England with blood during the dispute between the White Rose and the Red—a war about two individuals, in which the people had no interest, waged in a cause the most absurd; for what can be more absurd than for one half of a nation to slaughter the other, to decide whether one man or another should be placed in an office which no man should be allowed to occupy?" Brissot concludes his reasoning with these words: "N'ayez plus de Roi, et les mécontents ne peuvent s'attacher à aucun nom; et ils deviennent

odieux à toute la terre, en voulant donner un tyran à une nation qui n'en veut pas."

All the efforts of the Republicans were fruitless. The people in general had no idea that so extensive a nation as France could be governed without a King. All their notions of government were engrafted on monarchy.

Roberespierre himself was not a republican. At this very period, while he harangued in the Assembly against the King's inviolability, and was eager for bringing him to trial, he spoke in the Jacobin Society against a republic; and he was the personal enemy of the most distinguished republicans. Others who like him declared at once against the King and a republic, were supposed to have been gained by the Duke of Orleans's agents, with a view to his being declared Regent during the minority of Lewis XVII. ; but no suspicion of this kind adhered to Roberespierre. With little  
taste

taste for pleasures or magnificence, he despised money : power was his object, and popularity the only means by which he expected to obtain it. No man's external appearance was ever less calculated for assisting his desire of popularity. The person of Robespierre was puny, his visage pale, his features disagreeable, and he had the menacing eye and rapid gait of a madman. During a considerable period of the Constituent Assembly, he had been little distinguished. It was not until after the death of Mirabeau, and about the period of which we are now treating, that he found himself a man of any considerable importance, and that his views of ambition began to extend. The restoration of Lewis XVI gave him no hopes of being placed in any situation of authority. He knew that the King disliked him, that the Queen despised him, and that he was hated by the whole Court. He therefore ardently wished the deposition of

the King, and joined with the partisans of the Duke of Orleans and the republicans in promoting that measure: but he did not wish to see the Duke of Orleans Regent; because he knew that those who had been long attached to that Prince, some of them men of eminent talents, would be preferred to him, and that he could expect under *his* regency only a subordinate situation. Nor did he wish for the establishment of a republic, unless he could have had hopes of governing it; and he saw Condorcet, Genfonet, Guadet, Vergniaud, Brissot, Kerfaint, and others in his way, which determined him to oppose the republican system both by his speeches in the Jacobin Club and in some pamphlets which he published. If the King had been deposed after his return from Varennes, it is supposed that Robespierre and others connected with him had expectations from the appointment of a regency in which the Duke of Orleans

would have had no share. But after the King was re-established, and had accepted the Constitution ; after the Constituent Assembly was dissolved, and the Legislative Assembly, of which Robespierre could not be a member, convened ; he became more assiduous than ever in his attendance at the Jacobin Club, and in using every possible means of increasing his popularity, as the sole foundation on which the power he so ardently desired could be built. With an arrogant mind which spurned the common people, nobody ever flattered and cajoled them so much ; nobody ever adapted his language and behaviour so much to their passions and prejudices ; nobody ever seemed so obsequious to their will, and so anxious for their welfare. He seldom ventured to give any new or untried impulse to the multitude. He watched until they had received it from circumstances, or from those who were less circumspect than himself ; but when he clearly

saw which way the torrent of their passions bore, he joined with ostentatious zeal, became the most violent of the violent, and took the direction of the storm from those who had raised it. After the 10th of August 1792, he for the first time became an avowed and furious republican. His influence in the Jacobin Club was then unrivalled ; and, by redoubling his assiduity and his artful management, it soon became equal even in the new Common Council of Paris to that of Danton, who was its creator, and the governing spirit by which the catastrophe of that day was accomplished.

Robespierre from that time became more daring and more atrocious. There is no doubt of his being the chief mover of the massacres in September ; that he tried to get Brissot and others of the Gironde party arrested and involved in them ; for they were then the great objects of his jealousy, and had for some time the honour of sharing  
with

with the King and Queen that abuse which daily flowed from the pen of Marat and other creatures of Robespierre. By his influence and their calumnies, not one of the Brissotine party was elected as member of the Convention for the department of Paris ; nor indeed any one man without his approbation.

There is reason to believe that Louvet's accusation was just, that Robespierre was so intoxicated with his popularity as to have entertained hopes of being appointed Dictator ; and that Marat and Panis, by his connivance, founded Barbaroux of Marseilles and Rebecqui on the subject about the time when the Convention first assembled. The popularity of Robespierre at that period, however, was pretty much confined to the department of Paris. The vast majority of the Deputies came to the Convention strongly prejudiced against him, and with a high opinion of the integrity of Roland, and



of the talents and patriotism of the Gironde party ; for two or three months after the first meeting of the Convention, any person who attended that Assembly would have been persuaded that Robespierre and his most active adherents were so much the object of its detestation, that he had no chance of ever having influence in it. By his influence with the Jacobins, the Municipality, and the Mob, and with the assistance of a minority of the Deputies, he forced on the King's trial, and then had the address to make the unwillingness which the Gironde party shewed to that measure, and even their popular proposal of an appeal to the people, matter of accusation against them, and the cause of their ruin. Having now devolved the command of the National Guards of Paris on a creature of his own, he imperceptibly obtained an irresistible sway in the Committee of Public Safety. Being supported by the Municipality

lity and the Jacobin Clubs; never once yielding to pecuniary corruption, or shocking the eyes of the populace with personal magnificence; turning the talents and crimes of others to the purposes of his own ambition; cutting off his most confidential friends without remorse, when he became in the least jealous of them; having by wonderful address found means to have creatures of his own appointed Commissioners to most of the Departments; and the mob of Paris being always under the management of his agents; he at last obtained his object, the Convention was the passive organ of his will, and Robespierre was the Dictator of the French republic. But, after having drenched every department of France with blood, he became giddy by the exercise of power, forgot his original caution, and, by filling his very associates with terror, obliged them to be his executioners, that they might not become his victims.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*A curious Account of Petion by Robespierre—  
M. Barnave—Tumultuous assembling in the  
Champ de Mars—Two Persons massacred  
by the Mob—M. La Fayette, at the Head of  
the National Guards, attacks and disperses the  
Mob—Danton—Camille Desmoulins—Ma-  
rat—Charlotte Cordé—Reflections—Disso-  
lution of the Constituent Assembly.*

TO give at once an idea of the character and conduct of Robespierre, it was necessary to allude to events that happened long after the period of which we were treating, and to which it is now necessary to revert.

When it was evident that a republican form of government was unpopular, that the periodical paper called *Républicain*, and all the efforts of the few republicans then at  
Paris,

Paris, made little impression, Brissot published a new proposal, which was adopted by some Members of the National Assembly, and obtained the approbation of many more of the Jacobin Club ; namely, that since it seemed to be determined to re-establish royalty, the King ought to have a Council, not of his own choosing, nor of the National Assembly's appointment, but to be elected by the Electors of the Deputies, and to be renewed annually according to a plan which he published. Brissot concludes his proposal with this expression : " En un mot, point de Roi, ou un Roi avec un Conseil électif et amovible. Telle est en deux mots ma profession de foi \*."

The great error of the Constituent Assembly, and which they were led into by the dread of a return of the ancient system,

\* In a word, no King at all; or a King with an elective and removable Council ; such is my profession of faith.

was that of leaving monarchy too weak to resist the force that was likely to assail it ; but this plan of Brissot tended to render it ridiculous as well as weak, and exposed it to be overfet by the first attack, which in all probability was his intention. This plan however was no better received than his avowed project for immediately establishing a republic.

In the mean time M. Muguet de Nanthou made a report relative to the King's escape, in the name of the Committees appointed by the Assembly. In this report they give an opinion in favour of the King's inviolability ; and that of course he ought not to undergo a trial. Immediately after hearing this report, the National Assembly began a debate, which was resumed every day for three days on that subject. It would seem not to require above three minutes deliberation ; for these obvious reasons, that the Constitution rendered the person

son

son of the Monarch inviolable ; and determined besides, that in case the King should ever withdraw from the kingdom, and actually reside in an enemy's territories, he should be formally summoned to return ; and that only in the event of his refusing to comply with the summons, he was to be declared to have abdicated the Crown. To have brought the King to trial, therefore, on the present occasion, would have betrayed a disregard of all principle ; and shewn that the Constitution, which they had bestowed such pains in rearing, was built upon a bank of sand, to be washed away by the first torrent that should issue from the kennels of the suburbs of St. Antoine.

Robespierre and Petion were the most violent against the King during this debate. Those two men started together in a race of popularity, which it might have been expected would have produced a little jostling between them. Hitherto however nothing  
of

of that nature had occurred; Robespierre thought too meanly of the talents of Petion to be jealous of him; he even beheld him at one period get somewhat before him on the course without uneasiness. It was not in Robespierre's nature to have a friendship for any body; but he despised Petion too much to hate him, until Brissot, who had been long the object of Robespierre's jealousy and hatred, drew him over to the Gironde party. He then honoured his old companion with a little of the rancour which he felt for all that faction.

This appeared first in the month of October 1792, when Petion endeavoured in a laborious pamphlet to refute several accusations of Robespierre against him; and one in particular, which seems to have hurt him exceedingly, namely, that he was entirely led by Brissot. To this Robespierre wrote an answer; and as he there appears in a new point of view, and displays a considerable

siderable share of humour, of which it was not natural to suppose such a man possessed, a few specimens may be excusable.

In Petion's pamphlet he represents Brissot as a man only in knowledge, but a child in simplicity : " Que Brissot est l'homme le moins propre à être chef de parti \*." To this Robespierre answers—" On ne consulte point le disciple sur la capacité de son maître. Orgon est-il compétent pour juger Tartuffe † ?" Petion, solicitous to remove an imputation which cruelly corroded his vanity, frequently repeats—"Jamais homme en place ne pensa et n'agit par lui-même autant que moi."

" Mon cher Petion," says Robespierre, " vous vous calomniez vous-même quand

\* Brissot is the man on earth the least fit for being the leader of a party.

† The scholar is not consulted respecting the capacity of his master. Was Orgon a competent judge of the character of Tartuffe?



vous prétendez que vous n'êtes mené par personne ; peut-être même vous l'êtes-vous persuadé de bonne foi : mais il n'en est rien, je vous jure. Le fait-on quand on est mené ? Voyez encore ce qui se passe sur nos théâtres. Lorsqu'une adroite soubrette, ou un valet intrigant, conduit un Geronte, ou un Orgon, comme par la lisière ; ne voyez-vous pas avec quel art les frippons s'extasient sur la rare sagesse et sur l'incroyable fermeté du bon homme, et comme celui-ci s'écrie, dans les éclats de la joie bruyante, Oh ! je fais bien qu'on ne me mene pas, moi ; et s'il y a une forte tête en France, je vous garantis que c'est celle-ci\*."

Robef-

\* My dear Petion, you calumniate yourself when you pretend that you are led by nobody. Perhaps you even believe it ; but you are quite mistaken, I will take my oath. But do people know when they are led ? Only observe what passes on our theatres. When a sly chambermaid or a knavish valet leads a Geronte or an Orgon

Robespierre then assures his old friend that there is a wonderful resemblance between this portrait of Geronte and Petion himself; to prove which he asserts, that, after Brissot and some others had arranged the administration, of which Roland and Claviere were the chiefs, he had directly gone to Petion, and, on the pretence of consulting him on the subject, had said, Well, whom do you think we should name for Ministers? How would you like Roland and Claviere?—would not they be exactly to your mind? continued Brissot. “Parbleu! oui!” answered Petion; “Oh, Roland, Claviere! savez-vous que ce seroit

gon as if it were in leading-strings, don’t you see with what art the two former extol the wonderful wisdom and incredible firmness of the poor man? while he, in the midst of their noisy joy, cries—I am pretty certain that I am not a man to be led; and if there is a steady head in France, it is this on my shoulders.

délicieux !

délicieux ! qu'on les nomme \*.” Brissot then assured him that he would endeavour to bring it about exactly as Petion had appointed.

Soon after which, continues Robespierre, “ je vous ai vu dans la ferme croyance que c'étoit vous qui les aviez choisis. Comme je vous demandois si cette demarche de la Cour ne vous étoit pas suspecte, vous me repondites, avec un air de contentement très remarquable : ‘ Oh ! si vous saviez qui les a designés !’ Je vous devinai, et je vous dis, en riant de votre bonne foi—‘ C'est vous, peut-être ?’ Et alors en vous frottant les mains,—‘ Hem, Hem !’ me repondites-vous †.”

In

\* Roland and Claviere ! that would be charming—let them be appointed by all means.

† I saw that you were in the firm conviction that it was you who had chosen them. When I asked you if that measure of the Court did not strike you as a little  
suspicious,

In this same letter Robespierre asserts that Petion, by the feebleness of his conduct, had prevented the insurrection of the 20th of June 1792 from being as decisive as that of the 10th of August; and that the Court, and particularly the King, had totally mistaken his character. "Le gros Louis XVI," says he, in his abusive language, "crut voir un rival dans un Maire de Paris Jacobin; mais César auroit dit, en contemplant votre visage épanoui par un rire éternel, 'Ce ne sera pas celui-là qui m'arrachera l'empire \*.'" As

suspicious? you answered with an air of extraordinary satisfaction—"Ah! if you but knew who it was that pointed them out!"—Perceiving what you meant, and laughing at your credulity, I then said, "It was you, perhaps?"—on which, rubbing your hands together, you nodded assent.

\* The plump Lewis thought he saw a rival in a Jacobin Mayor of Paris; but Caesar would have said, on contemplating your face, spread with an eternal smile,

As an apology for the freedom he takes with his old friend, Robespierre observes—  
 “ Si, dans ce genre d’escrime tout-à-fait philanthropique, vous étiez exposé à quelque légère blessure, elle n’atteindroit que votre amour propre : et vous m’avez rassuré d’avance la-dessus, en protestant vous-même qu’il étoit nul \*.”

Through the whole of this letter there runs a vein of pleasantry which might have been thought inconsistent with the saturnine temper and atrocious mind of Robespierre. After all the ridicule, however, which he endeavours to throw on Petion, those who knew him equally well, and are less prejudiced, represent him as a man of confi-

“ It will not be this man who will tear the empire from me.”

\* If in this dispute, which is entirely philanthropic, you should be exposed to some slight blows, they will be aimed at your vanity ; and you have put me quite at ease, my dear Petion, on that head, by declaring yourself that you have none.

derable

derable learning, though not so much as he wished the world to believe ; of some eloquence, but by no means so much as he believed himself ; of some judgment, though a much smaller portion than he imagined ; whereas he really possessed a very comfortable share of vanity, of which it appears he was persuaded that he had none at all.

This character may be thought perhaps singular ; yet it is wonderful what a number of people resemble Petion. As for Robespierre, it is to be hoped that there is not such another man in the world.

Independent of the influence which Robespierre had over Petion at the period of which we were treating, another circumstance is supposed to have contributed to the violent part he took against the King during the three days which this debate lasted. It was mentioned above that M. Barnave was a joint Commissioner with Petion from the Assembly to meet the Royal

Family on their return from Varennes; and it was remarked that the King gave such a marked preference to the former as greatly offended the latter.

M. Barnave was a young man of very promising talents; the applause bestowed on his speeches in the National Assembly and the Jacobin Society, with the impetuosity of his temper, rendered him self-sufficient. Eloquence being that in which he chiefly excelled, he considered it as the principal talent of a statesman; and was apt to undervalue men of more mature and juster ideas than his own, because they could not express them so well. He had distinguished himself by his violence against the Ministers and the Court on various occasions in the Assembly, and would in all likelihood have entirely joined the republican party, had not his zeal been restrained by Mirabeau, whom he greatly admired, and who a little before his last illness had become

come convinced that the democratic spirit threatened the destruction of even that limited monarchy which he preferred to any other form of government, and which he was determined to maintain.

The Queen was not unacquainted with these intentions of Mirabeau, nor with the influence he had possessed over the mind of Barnave. The affecting point of view in which he saw the Royal Family, the flattering attention and powerful address of the Queen, joined to the impression which Mirabeau had already made, entirely converted Barnave. He sided with Liancour, Malouet, Alexander Lameth, Adrien Duport, and those who spoke for the re-establishing of the King; and repelled the arguments of Robespierre, Petion, Buzot, and others, with energy and success. It was finally decreed that the King should not be farther questioned respecting what was passed, and



that the Constitution should be accomplished as was at first intended.

This decision of the Assembly was too wise and liberal to be approved of by the multitude. It occasioned such a general clamour as revived the hopes of the republicans, who thought that by improving the present discontents the revolution might after all finish in the accomplishment of their favourite system of government. In their efforts to instigate the people to tumult they were assisted by the agents of the Duke of Orleans; though these last certainly gave their assistance in the hope of a different termination.

The squares and public gardens were filled with groups of people, to whom certain well-known orators, called motion-makers, harangued against the conduct of the National Assembly. Robespierre coming out of the hall found the street filled

with those groups ; who spreading around the patriot as soon as they observed him—  
*“ Alas ! my friends,”* he was heard to say,  
*“ all is ruined ; the King is to be restored.”*  
 This was repeated all over Paris, as an unanswerable proof that the Assembly were traitors, and the country undone. The theatres were shut as in the times of public calamity. The multitude afterwards resorted to the Champ de Mars, with a Declaration or Petition, of which many copies were made, and the people invited to sign it on the Altar of Confederation, which still stood in that field. This Declaration announced, “ that the subscribers thought, that in questions comprehending the general safety of the people it was their duty to express their wishes to the national representatives. That, in their opinion, the King by his late desertion had palsied the government and broken his oath. That this desertion and perjury, besides other criminal

acts which preceded, accompanied, and followed them, implied an abdication of the crown. That it was unbecoming of the majesty of the French nation to entrust its government in the hands of a perjured person, a traitor, and a fugitive," It concludes with a formal demand "that the National Assembly will sanction by their Decree the abdication of the government executed by Lewis the Sixteenth on the 21st of June;" and a declaration "that the subscribers will never acknowledge him for their King, unless the majority of the nation should express a wish different from theirs."

It appeared that the leaders of two different factions were engaged in the fabrication of this Address to the Assembly; for in some copies, after the declaration never to acknowledge Lewis XVI. for their King, the words *nor any other* were inserted. This was probably done by some of the republicans; but, as it was not agreeable to the  
 opinion

opinion of the great majority even of those who wished the dethronement of the present King, the words were erased. When the National Assembly heard of those proceedings, they ordered the Municipal Officers of Paris to their bar, and directed them to take measures for dispersing these tumultuous assemblies, and punishing their promoters.

The first measure which the Municipality adopted was to issue a proclamation, importing, that, as it was discovered that strangers paid by the enemies of France to sow sedition and promote insurrection had drawn numbers to assemble under the pretence of signing a petition, but with the real intention of overawing the Legislature and ruining the Nation, orders had been given to the Commander of the National Guards to disperse all groups in the streets, or assemblies in the fields, and to seize the disobedient and carry them to prison.

There

There unquestionably were no strangers at this time in Paris paid by foreign Powers for the purpose assigned in the proclamation ; but such accusations are often proclaimed by those who know their falsehood, on purpose to render the measures against which the proclamation is issued the more unpopular.

The proclamation had little effect. Vast numbers crowded to the Champ de Mars to sign the declaration. The fury of the multitude augmented with their numbers. Women as well as men ascended the altar to subscribe their names ; and though it could hardly be supposed that any of the former who attended on such an occasion were much worth looking at, yet two unfortunate men, one a soldier with a wooden leg, the other a hair-dresser, had the rash curiosity to place themselves under the boards which formed the floor of the altar, to contemplate those who ascended.

They

They were soon discovered, dragged forth by the mob, and carried before a Judge of the Section; who, thinking their conduct deserved *some* punishment, ordered them to be imprisoned; but as they were on the way, some of the rabble observed that they must have been hired by aristocrates to secrete themselves under the altar, with no other design than that of blowing up all the patriots male and female it contained; and that if a narrow examination of the ground were made, barrels of gunpowder would undoubtedly be found near the place. This reasoning was so satisfactory, that all farther proof or investigation was thought unnecessary. The two prisoners were directly hung upon the nearest lanthorn, and their heads afterwards cut off, and stuck upon pikes according to custom. What seemed particular was, that they were directly carried to the Palais Royal, and marched in procession before the windows.

When

When the Municipality heard of those murders, they gave orders that M. La Fayette should directly march at the head of a sufficient number of the National Guards to the Champ de Mars, and, being accompanied by some Municipal Officers, use every legal and effectual means to seize the murderers and disperse the insurgents. Martial law at the same time was formally proclaimed; and a red flag was displayed from the window of the Town-house. When these troops arrived at the Champ de Mars, they found it crowded by a furious multitude, who, instead of dispersing, insulted the troops with repeated exclamations, "À bas le drapeau rouge, à bas les bayonnettes," and even by throwing stones. M. Bailly the Mayor desired the troops to halt; and, after the formalities which the law required, M. La Fayette ordered part of them to fire over the heads of the mob. When they perceived that none were wounded, it confirmed

firmed them in an opinion which their instigators had inspired them with, that neither the General nor the Mayor had any inclination to hurt them, and that they durst not fire with ball. From this idea they became more outrageous : the soldiers and some of the officers of the National Guards were wounded. The troops fired upon their aggressors, of whom between 60 and 70 were killed or wounded. The multitude then fled into the city, exclaiming against the General and Mayor for having ordered innocent persons to be massacred ; and they endeavoured to instigate the citizens against the National Guards and those who commanded them. The citizens, however, lent a deaf ear to those clamours, shutting their shops against the multitude as they passed to the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, where most of them resided. The open and avowed excitors of this insurrection immediately disappeared. Dan-  
 ton,



ton, hearing that an order was issued for arresting him, fled to Marseilles. Camille Desmoulins followed his example. This person had uncommon claims for popularity. On the memorable day on which the Prince of Lambesc attacked the people at the Pont Tournant, Camille Desmoulins mounted on a table in the Palais Royal, and encouraged them to take arms. Since that time he had supported the popular cause by his speeches in the clubs, and by his writings not entirely devoid of wit, and generally full of that kind of coarse pleasantry which is relished by the common people. Danton and he were at this time attached to Robespierre, who pretended much friendship for both. They had the guilt of concurring with him in the massacre of the Deputies of the Gironde ; but afterwards, when that perfidious man became jealous of Danton, and found Camille less pliable to his will than he wished, he contrived to have both publicly executed.

Others

Others of less eminence lurked in Paris. Marat betook himself to a subterranean habitation which had been prepared for him by Le Gendre the butcher, which had served to secrete him from justice on various occasions both before and since the period we are now treating of. It is much to be regretted that he was not dug out and executed on this occasion. It would have prevented a great deal of mischief of which he was afterwards the cause ; and he would have died with more propriety by the hand of the hangman, than by that of the extraordinary and most interesting woman who gave him the mortal blow \*.

Laclos

\* Marie Charlotte Cordé was a beautiful young woman of an unblemished character, distinguished for dignity of sentiment and benevolence of heart ; but who had never given cause of suspicion of a disturbed understanding, nor, until she struck a poniard into the heart of Marat, any indication of a violent temper.

She was not prompted to this rash action by any  
personal

Laclos and Briffot had also promoted this insurrection, but not so openly as those  
above

personal indignity offered to herself, by rage, by love, by jealousy, by religious enthusiasm, or any of those incitements which alone have been thought capable of urging women to such deeds. She saw her country in calamitous circumstances; she dreaded their increase from the wickedness of one man whom the law could not reach; she was convinced that by killing him she would be of more service to her country than by all the exertions of a long life. "I killed one man," she declared at her trial, "to save a hundred thousand." She formed her design coolly, without entrusting any mortal with her intention: she undertook a long journey to accomplish it: she weighed all its consequences: she calculated on death, and in a more dreadful shape than that in which she afterwards met with it; she expected to be torn in pieces by the mob, or that her body would be dragged through the streets. The idea of those horrors did not shake the steadiness of her mind. She looked for no recompense but in the reflection of having prevented the death of thousands, and the misery of tens of thousands. She was allowed an advocate to assist her at her trial. M. Chauveau, when  
the

above mentioned, and certainly with views very different from each other. Laclos and others

the evidence was finished, pronounced the following brief speech to the Jury: " L'accusée avoue avec sang-froid l'attentat qu'elle a commis ; elle en avoue la longue préméditation ; elle en avoue les circonstances ; en un mot, elle avoue tout, et ne cherche pas même à se justifier. Voilà, Citoyens Jurés, sa défense toute entière. Ce calme imperturbable, et cette entière abnégation de soi-même, qui n'annoncent aucuns remords, et pour ainsi dire en présence de la mort même ; ce calme, et cette abnégation sublime sous un rapport, ne sont pas dans la nature ; ils ne peuvent s'expliquer que par l'exaltation du fanatisme politique qui lui a mis le poignard à la main, et c'est à vous, Citoyens Jurés, à juger de quel poids doit être cette considération morale dans la balance de la justice \*."

The

\* The prisoner acknowledges the act of which she is accused ; she acknowledges that she had long premeditated it ; she acknowledges the various circumstances ; in short, she acknowledges the whole accusation, and takes no pains to justify herself. In this, Gentlemen of the Jury, lies her entire defence. This astonishing calmness, this total abnegation of self, which betrays no remorse even in the very presence of death ; this calm and this abnegation seem not to be in nature ; they cannot be accounted for, but on

others attached to the Duke of Orleans wished the deposition of the King, that  
their

The Jury unanimously found her guilty. Sentence of death was pronounced. She then addressed M. Chauveau to this effect: " Sir, you have spoken in my defence in delicate and generous terms: it was the only style proper for me. I thank you. It has inspired me with esteem for you, of which I will give you a proof. The Judges have informed me that my goods are confiscated. I am indebted for some things at the prison. I charge you to acquit that debt."

A little before her execution, a Confessor was introduced to her, and offered his services. She thanked him, and expressed a sense of obligation to those who had sent him; but said she had no need of his services.

When the officers entered her chamber to conduct her to death, she mildly begged to be excused for a few minutes until she had finished the letter she was then writing to her father.

The populace, in spite of their prejudice in favour of Marat, were so struck with her undaunted deportment,  
that

the supposition that political fanaticism put the poniard into her hand; and it belongs to you, Gentlemen of the Jury, to determine what weight that consideration should have in the scale of justice.

their patron might be declared Regent, and that they themselves might of course obtain situations of power and emolument during the young King's minority. Brissot, who abhorred the Duke of Orleans, promoted this seditious petition, in the hopes that the establishment of a republic would be the immediate effect of the King's being deposed.

This assembly in the Champ de Mars, under the pretence of signing a petition for the purpose of deposing the King at the

that they did not, according to their custom, insult her as she was carried to execution. She occasionally smiled as she passed; and by that alone shewed that she paid them any attention. On the scaffold her face displayed the bloom of health, and the serenity of a mind undisturbed.

Assassination can in no case be entirely justified; but this seems the least culpable and most disinterested instance that can be imagined; and the whole behaviour of Marie Charlotte Cordé exhibits a benevolence of intention and heroic firmness of mind that perhaps has never been surpassed by woman or by man.

very time that the National Assembly had his conduct under consideration, and even after it was known that they had decreed his restoration, with the outrageous behaviour of the multitude, obviously to overawe the Legislature, and carry their point by force, was certainly rebellion, however palliated by Brissot himself, in a work he published some time afterwards, in which this event is singularly misrepresented\*. The conduct of Brissot was strongly disapproved of by all those first movers of the Revolution, whose view from the beginning, and whose ultimate wish, was a monarchical

\* On profite d'un rassemblement *paisible* de citoyens qui signoient une pétition au Champ de Mars ; on les peint comme un amas de brigands aux yeux de la Garde Nationale ; on *prépare* la tragédie de deux hommes trouvés le matin sous l'autel et massacrés à propos. Le drapeau rouge est déployé sans nécessité ; et le sang coule, sans que la loi ait parlé.—Reponse de Brissot à tous les Libellistes, &c.

form

form of government limited by law, and consistent with the liberty of the subject; and had Brissot been tried at this time \* for the part he certainly took in this insurrection, the object of which was to overthrow the Constitution, he might have been justly condemned; and a subsequent tribunal would have been saved the guilt of condemning him and his associates for crimes they never committed, and for that part of their conduct that was meritorious.

\* That Brissot thought himself at this time in some danger, and that he was shunned by many, appears by his own account : “ J’ai été un de ces hommes désignés publiquement pour l’échaffaud ; moi que, huit jours auparavant, on portoit presque aux nues, je me trouvai tout-à-coup dans un abîme effroyable, je lisois sur tous les visages, et les calomnies qu’on avoit répandues contre moi, et l’effroi que mon approche inspiroit, et ma sentence prochaine. Mille avis me parvenoit à la fois ; mes amis trembloient pour moi ; les uns me conseilloient de fuir ; les autres de modérer mes traits contre mes persécuteurs,” &c.



The formidable appearance which this insurrection at one moment had, made a strong impression on the minds of many members of the Assembly, and of the most respectable citizens of Paris. They considered the insurgents as a gang of needy ruffians, who waited but for a pretext or a signal from their employers to burst into the shops and houses, and pillage them. The energy, therefore, which the Assembly, Municipality, and Commander of the National Guards, had shewn in suppressing this commotion was generally approved of; and a greater degree of order and tranquillity than had been known for some time before in Paris was the consequence.

It would have been fortunate that the Constituent Assembly had continued for at least one year longer; not only because it consisted of a body of more respectable men than the succeeding Assembly, but also be-

cause by experience it had acquired a juster notion of things than when it was first constituted. The exalted theories concerning liberty, which had been entertained by some of its most distinguished members, were now considerably moderated by the scenes to which they had been witnesses. Whatever dislike the King may be supposed to have had to some parts of the Constitution ; yet after accepting it and swearing to maintain it, and after the dangers he had been exposed to, there is great reason to think that his resolution was to adhere to his engagements, and that he would to the most minute particular have done so, if he had had an Assembly to deal with who had formed a similar resolution. And those nearest the King's person, however different their original opinion may have been, must have confirmed him in this resolution, provided they wished well to

the Royal Family; but all the dawnings of concord and tranquillity that seemed ready to open at this period on the French nation disappeared with the Constituent Assembly.

The Committee which had been employed for a considerable time in digesting and arranging the constitutional decrees had now concluded its labour. The whole was read to the Assembly on the 4th of August 1791. It was then debated article by article, and on the third of September presented to the King, who was at the same time restricted by the Assembly to accept or reject the whole without exception or observation. On the 13th of the same month, being attended by a deputation of sixty members, the King went to the Assembly, and sanctioned the assent which he had the day before sent in writing, by an oath to be faithful to the nation,

tion, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the Constitution; and on the 30th of September the Assembly was terminated by its own spontaneous dissolution.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

*The Legislative Assembly—The King determined to adhere scrupulously to the Constitution—The Gironde determined on a Republic—The King's Household Guards—Formation of the King's and the Queen's Household—A new Hardship put on the Clergy—The Veto exercised—Confusion this produces in the Assembly—Unforeseen Events in the Revolution—Disagreement among the King's Ministers—M. de Narbonne—M. de Bertrand—Administration dissolved.*

UNFORTUNATELY for France the Legislative Assembly contained less wisdom than its predecessor. It was composed of men not only less respectable from their rank in society, but in general of inferior abilities. There were in it however a few men of distinguished talents, a greater number

number of a considerable share of learning ; but the ideas of both those classes on the subject of government had not been matured by long reflection nor corrected by experience. The remainder, forming by far the greatest proportion, consisted of men with no pretension to knowledge, some of them of impetuous characters and enthusiastic imaginations, who had been elected merely on account of their zeal and activity in the Revolution.

From this account of the Second or Legislative Assembly, nothing very wise or politic was to be expected in their conduct ; but it could hardly have been conceived that they would have begun by so childish a measure as they really did—namely, contesting the prerogatives and honours which the preceding Assembly had left with the King. Having met on the 1st of October, they verified their powers, chose their President and Secretaries, took the oath to maintain

maintain the Constitution decreed by the Constituent Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and never to propose or consent to any law contrary to it; and immediately after they decreed, contrary to what had been the usage during the former Assembly, that when the King should repair to the present one for the ceremony of what they call *l'ouverture de la séance*, their President should have the *first* and the King the *second* place. This ridiculous conduct of the Assembly was considered as highly insolent by the King's Council, which was unanimously for resisting it; but the King himself found a method of eluding at once the contest and the humiliation, by observing, that as the Constitution did not ordain that he should go in person to the Assembly, either for the *ouverture* or any other purpose, he would on the present occasion allow the *ouverture* to take place without his appearing.

This

This new pretension of the Assembly was viewed with indignation by the public in general, as well as by the King's Council ; which when the Assembly understood, and were informed of the resolution the King had taken, they annulled their foolish decree, and his Majesty then consented to open the session in person, which he did by a very judicious speech.

Some time previous to the opening of this Assembly, M. de Thevenard, Ministre de la Marine, having resigned that office, the King expressed a desire that M. Bertrand de Moleville should be his successor, and desired M. de Montmorin, Ministre de l'Intérieur, to communicate his desire to that gentleman. In a letter written by him to the President of the National Convention in November 1792, M. Bertrand declares that he had great unwillingness to accept of the office, because at that time he harboured doubts respecting the King's disposition towards



wards the Constitution, which determined him to decline the offer made to him in the King's name by M. de Montmorin. But upon receiving a pressing letter, written by the King himself, he requested to have a moment's conference with his Majesty ; which being agreed to, he was presented to the King the following day by M. de Lef-sart. M. Bertrand then expressed his sense of the honour that was intended for him ; but that he might be enabled to serve his Majesty with efficacy, he begged to be informed of his Majesty's real disposition respecting the Constitution, and what was the conduct he expected his Ministers were to observe on that subject. To which the King answered—"I have been informed of your scruples. I do not blame you for them ; it is reasonable you should know what is expected from you. I acknowledge that I do not approve of every article of the Constitution. I am convinced that if the  
Assembly

Assembly had not precluded all observations, by confining me to a simple acceptance or refusal, I could have indicated certain alterations which they would have approved. But that is over ; I have accepted and sworn to maintain it, such as it is, and I am resolved to be strictly faithful to my engagement, expecting that my Ministers will conform their conduct in all respects to the same plan. I am the more determined strictly and literally to adhere to every article of the Constitution, because it is the best means of shewing to the nation its excellencies or defects, and what alterations they may find it necessary to make." M. Bertrand having expressed his satisfaction at hearing sentiments so conformable to his own, added—" May I presume to ask whether those are the sentiments of the Queen?" His Majesty assured him they were ; which was confirmed to him by the Queen herself

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the same day, when M. Bertrand was presented to her.

These circumstances are mentioned from good authority, in support of what has been above asserted with regard to the disposition of the King and Queen at the opening of the Legislative Assembly ; and if that Assembly had sincerely concurred in the same sentiments, order and prosperity might from this date have been restored to France under the influence of a limited monarchy. But the Rochefoucaults, the Mouniers, and the Lally Tolendals had forsaken the Assembly. Mirabeau was dead. The Lameths, Adrien Duport, La Fayette, Barnave, and other sincere supporters of the Constitution, could not be members of the Second Assembly by that most impolitic decree which excluded all who had been of the First. The same decree excluded Robespierre ; but his malevolent spirit haunted

the Club of Jacobins, and was there as active and mischievous as ever. The promoters of the late insurrection, instead of being pursued with vigour and brought to trial, were allowed to appear again in the capital, and some of them were chosen Members of the Assembly; particularly Brissot, who in a short time became the centre of that circle, so well known under the name of the Gironde—many of them men of talents unquestionably, but all of them in their hearts republicans, and therefore very dangerous Members of a Legislative Assembly belonging to a Monarchical Constitution.

It is impossible to reflect upon the conduct of this party of the Gironde without being persuaded that their object from the beginning was to wean the minds of their countrymen from monarchy, even in the mildest form. They imagined that the Constitution itself contained that within it which

rendered freedom insecure, and would sooner or later be the means of bringing back that despotic government which they justly abhorred as the greatest of all earthly curses, and which in the mean time retarded the establishment of that republican government, which in visionary beauty appeared to their imaginations as the greatest of all political blessings. They thought that to have lopped the extravagant branches of monarchy was not sufficient; that the trunk itself must be entirely eradicated, before the tree of liberty could take firm root in France. They dreaded *that* taste for pomp and for the splendour of royalty which they believed still to exist in the hearts of their countrymen. If the King himself should not be disposed to extend the power of the Crown beyond the limits of the Constitution, they thought him under the influence of those who would make him attempt it; and that if the attempt should fail in

his

his reign, it might succeed in that of his successor. But at this period so far were some of those who had the greatest sway among the Brissotine party from fearing the perfidious attempts of the King against the Constitution, that they were now persuaded that past experience, his natural love of justice, his unambitious disposition, had determined him to adhere strictly to it, and to lend a deaf ear in future to whatever might be suggested to induce him to a contrary conduct; what they most dreaded was that the King's natural love of justice, his affability, and all the mild virtues of his character, would revive the seeds of loyalty which lay concealed in the hearts of the people, and occasion the restoration of a government more arbitrary than that which had been overturned. To blast those seeds entirely, and prevent so pernicious an harvest, they used means which never can be justifiable in a creature so fallible in judg-

ment, so circumscribed in his views, and so limited in his faculties, as man. Rumours of new plots and conspiracies, of an Austrian committee within the palace, and other tales equally false, were propagated by active emissaries in the places of public resort, and insinuated in the journals supposed to be under the direction of leading men of the party. The King's character was grossly misrepresented, and new sources of calumny were opened against the Queen. To that species of slander to which female beauty is most exposed, others were added of a more important nature, in which the independence and freedom of the nation were deeply concerned.

The causes of inquietude with which this unhappy monarch was surrounded, did not proceed from the republican party in the Assembly alone. The formation of that body of guards which the Constitution had appointed to the King, greatly excited the  
jealousy

jealousy of the National Guards of Paris ; although the King used every precaution he could think of to prevent it. He consented that the Parisian National Guards should continue to perform duty at the palace, and to mount guard at particular posts of the Tuileries in common with his own peculiar body guards ; he expressed to both corps, that the most agreeable mark of attachment they could give him would be to live in union and friendly terms with each other. All this could not cure the National Guards of their jealousy : the King could not speak a word, in passing, to an officer of the body guards, or look on the soldiers with an air of satisfaction, without the others complaining loudly that the new guards were preferred to them ; and hardly a week passed without complaints of this nature, and without the Royal Family being teased with their suspicions or animosities. These disputes, with some other incidents, were afterwards made



a pretext by the King's enemies to disband the Constitutional Guards entirely, that he might be unable to resist insurrections, and be entirely at their mercy \*.

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\* When the troops were first decreed for the King's household, it was a distinction much desired to belong to them. The formation of them was left to his Majesty; and he resolved to take one third of both officers and men from the troops of the line, and the other two from the National Guards, which was done accordingly. But with a view to render himself extensively popular, he desired each department of France to send a certain number of their National Guards; to compose that part of his household troops which was to be formed from the national troops. But although in general they were well chosen, yet some of those sent by the departments were exceedingly seditious; whereas, if he had taken them all from the National Guards of Paris, the character of each individual might have been known before he was appointed. A great number of the citizens of Paris would have had sons or relations in the King's household, which would have rendered him popular where popularity was of infinitely more importance than in the remote departments; and a guard so connected could not have been dangerous

The emigration at this period was very great; and had extended to both sexes, comprehending several ladies of the Queen's household. It was imagined that, to render himself as well as the Queen popular, his Majesty was inclined to have the vacant places filled by the relations of those who were believed to be the warmest friends to the Revolution. On this presumption the Ministers were earnestly solicited by the numerous candidates to be included in the new formation of both households. The King however, being aware that he was in danger of making more enemies than friends, postponed the business from time to time; and, when importuned by the Ministers themselves, he eluded coming to an

dangerous to liberty. Had this plan been observed, so many Parisian families would have been interested in the household troops being kept up, as would have rendered the Assembly cautious of decreeing their reduction.

immediate nomination, by desiring each Minister to give a list of those whom he recommended to the different offices which were to be created. The words the Monarch used, speaking on this subject to a person who enjoyed his confidence, give a more just and a more affecting idea than perhaps any other could do, of the perplexing state in which the Royal Family were even at this period, when they were generally believed more free than usual from constraint. “ Je sens bien que la Reine ne peut pas garder sans inconvénient auprès d'elle des femmes d'emigrés, et je lui en ai déjà parlé; mais on ne peut pas exiger non plus qu'elle fasse sa société de Mesdames Petion, Condorcet, ou autres de cette espèce. Quant à moi, la plupart de ceux dont le service m'étoit le plus agréable dans mon ancienne maison m'ont abandonné, et parmi ceux qui en sont restés il y en a qui font le tourment de ma vie. Il y a par exemple

ce —————, qui est sans cesse chez moi pour espionner et commenter tout ce qui s'y dit, tout ce qui s'y fait, et qui en fait ensuite les rapports les plus faux \*."

The Assembly, not satisfied with the hard decree which stripped those Clergy of their livings who refused to take the oath to the Constitution, passed another still more severe, by which a new oath was to be offered to them; and all who did not take it were to leave the kingdom,

\* I am sensible that the Queen cannot without inconvenience keep the wives of emigrants about her, and I have already spoken to her on that subject; but neither can it be expected that she will compose her society of Mesdames, Petion, Condorcet, or others of that class. As for my own part, the greatest number of my ancient household whose service was the most agreeable to me, have abandoned me, and among those who remain there are some who are the torment of my life. There is for example that —————, who is continually at hand to spy and comment upon all that is said and all that is done, and afterwards gives the most false account of the whole.

All

All the Bishops then at Paris, greatly alarmed at this fresh act of oppression, met on purpose to draw up a memorial to be presented to the King, entreating him to interpose his negative. His Majesty, who had felt remorse for having consented to the first decree against the Clergy, received this memorial very graciously, and declared that he was determined to refuse his sanction to the decree, which he considered as cruel and unjust.

When this matter was laid before the King's Council, which consisted of M. Delessart for Foreign Affairs, M. de Narbonne as Minister of War, M. de Bertrand of the Marine, M. Cahier de Gerville of the Interior, M. Duport du Tertre, Keeper of the Seals, and M. Tarbé, Minister of Contributions, they were unanimously of opinion that the decree should be negatived; but, this being the first instance of the King's exercising this prerogative, it was thought expedient

expedient that it should be done with solemnity ; and, to shew that it was with the entire approbation of the Council, all the Ministers agreed to accompany M. Duport du Tertre to the Assembly when he went to announce the King's veto.

M. Duport having a message of a more agreeable nature to communicate to them at the same time, he encouraged his colleagues by assuring them, that he would take that opportunity of throwing in a few forcible arguments to prove the expediency of the veto, which he was convinced would satisfy the Assembly. The King approved of this arrangement; and on the 10th of November all the Ministers assembled at M. Duport's house, that they might go to the Assembly together. Before they set out, he was observed to drink two glasses of cold water. One of his colleagues asked if he felt himself indisposed. He answered, " Non ; c'est une précaution que je prends toutes les fois que je  
vais

vais à l'Assemblée ; le sang me bout dans les veines quand j'entends ces gens-là ; et si je ne prennois pas quelque chose pour me calmer, je serois sûr de m'emporter, et de leur dire les vérités les plus dures \*."

The entrance of the six Ministers into the hall of the Assembly, and the report of a message from the King, the purport of which was unknown, excited curiosity, and produced a silence more profound and of longer duration than had ever been known in that Assembly. M. Duport in the mean time laid upon the table, one after another, the different decrees which the King had sanctioned, among which were two that the Assembly had shewn particular anxiety to have passed. Having fulfilled this part of his duty to the satisfaction of the Assembly,

\* No ; it is a precaution I take every time I go to the Assembly to keep my blood calm ; for it is apt to boil in my veins at sight of those fellows ; and if I did not take something to cool me, I should be so overheated with passion as to tell them the most disagreeable truths.

he

he added, that with regard to the decree which imposed a new oath on the unconstitutional Priests, *le Roi examinera* ; which is the expression used when a decree is negatived. The Minister then drew from his pocket a paper containing the discourse which he had prepared relative to the King's message ; but unfortunately the two glasses of water began to operate at that instant, and they produced an effect more violent than could have been expected from so simple a medicine. His face became pale ; his voice grew weak ; and his hand shook so much that it was with difficulty he could read the discourse ; and, what was most unlucky of all, the first sentence he pronounced alluded to the refusal of the sanction. He was allowed to proceed no farther : a general uproar began in the Assembly : all spoke at once demanding *la parole* ; and all continuing to speak without having obtained permission, “ M. le Président—M. le Pré-



sident, nous ne pouvons pas entendre ce message," exclaimed one. "Ce sont les motifs du refus de sanction," rejoined another. "Ce message est inconstitutionnel," cried a third. "Rappelez à l'ordre le Ministre," added a fourth. "M. le Président, je demande la parole pour une motion d'ordre," said a fifth, and many others made the same requisition. The tumult continued seven or eight minutes, during which the Ministers stood waiting the result. As soon as it abated, the President proposed the question, whether they should refuse to hear the message as unconstitutional. M. Bertrand, perceiving that the Keeper of the Seals made no effort to prevent this, desired to be heard for a single moment. This was refused; and it was decreed that the message should not be heard; after which the President informed M. Bertrand that he might speak. M. Bertrand said, that what he had to say could

now

now be of little importance ; but that if he had been allowed to speak before they passed the decree, he would have informed them that the King's message was to communicate certain measures which his Majesty had taken to put a stop to emigration. He had no sooner pronounced these words than the tumult recommenced : one part of the Assembly insisted upon retracting the decree and hearing the message ; another were for maintaining the decree ; but as the Keeper of the Seals was silent, although, had it not been for the chilling effect of the water, he might have represented that, according to the Constitution, the Assembly had no right to refuse to hear a message from the King ; the business ended here, and the order of the day was called for.

In the account of this transaction given in the newspaper called the *Moniteur*, the words used by M. Bertrand were mistated. He was represented, after the words *to stop the emigration*, to have added, *of Navy Officers.*

*cers.* He thought proper to address a letter to the editor of the *Moniteur*, desiring that the mistake might be corrected, as he had not mentioned the *Officers of the Navy*, nor could with propriety have done it, no one officer having deserted his post since his appointment to the place of Minister of the Marine. This letter formed the pretext for a denunciation against M. Bertrand a short time afterwards.

The Legislative Assembly manifested so great a disposition to put an unfavourable construction on the King's measures, that he was constantly on his guard, had the Constitution always before his eyes, and seldom proposed any plan to his Ministers, or adopted one proposed by them, without previously examining whether or not it was strictly conformable to it; and if there were doubts on that head, he generally rejected the measure. This attention rendered it difficult for the King's enemies to find, what they eagerly looked for, any matter of accusation founded

founded on his having infringed the Constitution. An attempt was made to put that construction on his having made use of the veto. It was said to be applying a constitutional power, diametrically against the spirit of the Constitution. But who are to be the judges in this matter? If it be the Assembly, then the veto is a word signifying nothing. If it is the King, then there was no infringement of the Constitution. But no prudence on his part could have enabled him to avoid all the dangers with which he was surrounded; nor could human penetration foresee what was to be the effect, when ambition, enthusiasm, prejudice, patriotism, ignorance, and caprice, acting upon a large body of men possessed with power, are the causes. Indeed, many events in the course of this revolution are so surprising, and so little to be looked for from what occurred immediately before, that they may be compared to the tricks of a juggler, who

bewilders the senses of the spectators, and, every time he removes the cup or the hat, presents some object extremely different, if not precisely the reverse of what they expected to see.

For example. Who could have expected that the Archbishop of Sens would be succeeded, as Prime Minister of France, by a foreigner who was a Protestant by religion and a republican by birth? After being created Minister upon account of his popularity, who could have imagined that M. Necker would be ordered to quit the kingdom when his popularity was at the highest? Could those who saw him flying like a felon to the frontiers conceive, that he would within a few days be recalled and brought back in triumph to his former situation? Or could those who saw the frantic joy of the people at his return imagine, that he would soon after be permitted to withdraw out of the kingdom without notice

tice or regret? After all the time and labour which had been bestowed in forming a Constitution of a monarchical form; after the whole nation had sworn to maintain it; after the Legislative Assembly, amidst the plaudits of the galleries, had declared against a republic in the month of July 1792, who could have believed that a republican form of government would be decreed in the month of September of the same year? Could it have been foreseen that the Duke of Rochefoucault, M. Mounier, and many more who struggled to obtain freedom for France, would be murdered or driven out of their country as the agents of despotism? When the King was a prisoner and the nation in anarchy, who expected that the raw soldiery and undisciplined peasantry of France, under the direction of a General who had never before commanded an army, should baffle the skill and energy of a numerous veteran army, commanded by a Ge-

neral of the highest military reputation in Europe? At a moment when they certainly could not wish for new enemies, who could have thought that the Convention would have wantonly provoked every neighbouring state by ridiculous and hostile decrees? When unhappy and distracted France was suffering under the most cruel internal commotion, and on the point of exhausting her strength by civil war as much as her bitterest enemies could wish, who could have imagined that they would contrive a scheme, the effect of which was to assuage commotions, unite her councils, and inspire her with a vigour she never had shewn before? Could any body who had seen Robespierre odious to the great majority of the Convention, and with difficulty allowed to speak, have imagined that this very man, who seemed to hate mankind and was formed for being hated by them, was ever to acquire power by popularity, and be able to exercise  
a degree

a degree of tyranny over those zealots of freedom, which it could hardly be expected the mutes of a seraglio would have long submitted to?

To return to the period we left. When the King and those around him seem to have shut their hearts from any other view, and to have centred all their hopes of comfort and security in conforming to the regulations of the Constitution, it was peculiarly unlucky that there was not perfect concord in the King's Council on other points of conduct. Though there is reason to believe that all the Ministers wished well to their country, the most distinguished for talents and energy among them were of very different characters. M. de Narbonne, the Minister of War, was a man of spirit and enterprise, of very pleasing manners, of a great share of wit, and various other accomplishments. M. Bertrand, the Minister of the Marine, was more advanced in life, of a



clear and masculine judgment, of unremitting application, but of plainer manners than is usual with his countrymen. He had managed the public affairs as Intendant in the province of Brittany, during a difficult period, with great steadiness, and equally to the satisfaction of the King and the province.

As it had been remarked by M. Bertrand, that some of the Ministers during the first Assembly had been brought into trouble by communicating with the Committees, owing to their words or actions having been misrepresented, he proposed to his colleagues, that they should communicate and correspond directly with the Assembly, as ordained by the Constitution, and never with the Committees. This being approved of by the King, was agreed to by all the Ministers, except M. de Narbonne, who at this time enjoyed a great share of popularity, was praised in the Journals of Brissot  
and

and Condorcet, while M. Bertrand was abused in both. M. de Narbone imagined that it was only by preserving his popularity that he could be of service as a Minister either to his King or Country. He therefore corresponded with the Committees, went often there, was always well received, and appeared to be on a friendly footing with several leading Deputies of the Gironde party. This conduct was highly displeasing to M. Bertrand and some of the other Ministers, and, with other subjects of disagreement, was the cause of M. de Narbonne's quitting the office of Minister. After his resignation, as the misunderstanding between him and M. Bertrand had been commented on in Brissot's Journal, the latter thought it expedient to resign also. The consequence was the entire dissolution of this Administration—an event much to be regretted; because perhaps it was the only Administration since the Revolution,

in which all the Ministers were at once attached to the King and to the Constitution. M. de Narbonne soon afterwards joined the army under M. La Fayette, whose conduct in support of the Constitution he approved, and thereby drew upon himself the hatred first of the Jacobins, and finally of the Gironde party.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

*The Jacobin Administration—War with the Emperor—The Austrian Committee revived—Memoirs of Madame de la Motte—The King's Household Troops reduced—Seditious Scenes in the Gardens of the Tuileries—Divisions in the Council—Decree for an Army of Twenty Thousand Men—Views of the Jacobins—Observations of Camille Desmoulins—King negatives the Decrees—Roland dismissed—Dumourier resigns—M. La Fayette writes to the National Assembly—Appears at the Bar—A Project for the Escape of the Royal Family—Reflections on the Behaviour of the King, Queen, and Princess Elizabeth.*

ON the dissolution of this administration, the King was advised by M. Cahier de Gerville to form an administration of a popular

popular nature, as the best means of acquiring the confidence of the nation, and of precluding those marks of jealousy and ill humour that were shewn against all his measures. M. Dumourier, the same who has since rendered himself so famous, was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs; M. La Coste for the Marine; M. Duranton Minister of Justice; and a short time after M. Roland, a man of a grave character and republican principles, who had formerly been Inspector of Commerce and Manufactures, was named Minister for the Interior; M. Claviere of Geneva, a person celebrated for his knowledge in finance, Minister of Contribution; and M. Degraives, a man of a mild and diffident character, and in a weakly state of health, succeeded M. de Narbonne as Minister of War. This was called the Jacobin Administration; although Lacoste, Duranton, and Degraives never had been of that Society, and the other three within a  
 very

very short time were more obnoxious to the Jacobins than any men in France,

The assembling of emigrants on the frontiers of France, particularly in the Austrian Netherlands, the countenance given to them by foreign Princes, the proclamations issued by the King's brothers, and a variety of other circumstances, had long rendered it probable, notwithstanding the pacific declarations of the Emperor Leopold, that an attack was intended upon France.

In the disordered state of that country, it is natural to imagine that war would have been considered as an additional evil, and to be avoided with the utmost care. It has been believed, however, that it was not viewed in that light by the republicans; but rather as a means of accomplishing their favourite object. Brissot in his Journal insinuates as much: "Sans la guerre," he says, "la France ne seroit pas république;" but the Journal alluded to appeared immediately  
after

after the Republic had been declared by the Convention, when the highest merit the party could claim was that of having contributed to it. But however ardently they may have wished for war, they had no need of using any address to have it declared ; for the young Prince who succeeded his uncle Leopold soon settled that point by the answer he ordered to be made to the requisitions of M. de Noailles, the French Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, and by him transmitted to M. Dumourier. This answer imported that the only terms on which peace could be continued were, “ that the French Monarchy should be re-established, according to the plan proposed at the Royal Session at Versailles in June 1789, which exacted the restoration of the nobility and clergy as orders, the restoration of the lands of the church, the guarantee of the feudal rights of the German Princes in Alsace, and the restitution of Avignon and the county  
of

of Venaissin to the Pope." Dumourier, who considered this answer as equivalent to a declaration of war, prevailed on the King to communicate it directly to the National Assembly, where, as was foreseen, it excited the utmost indignation; and on the 20th of April the King, accompanied by his Council, went to the Assembly and proposed that war should be declared against the King of Hungary and Bohemia. The proposal was heard with universal applause, and decreed by the Assembly with unanimity.

The first military operations of the French, however, tended to confirm an opinion pronounced with an air of triumphant infallibility by many, that the disciplined army of Austria would drive the militia of France before them like a flock of sheep to the capital, that the old despotism would be restored with awful splendour, and the Emperor rewarded for his services by the acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine. This has

not



not exactly taken place; but the events of the war have produced an effect which nobody foresaw, but which seems equally alarming—the inhabitants of a populous and extensive country, from being the best taylor, hair-dressers, cooks and dancing-masters in Europe, and equal to most as manufacturers and men of letters, have suddenly been converted into soldiers, nothing inferior to the most warlike of their neighbours. This has at length induced many of their ancient rivals, in spite of every sentiment of jealousy, heartily to wish, for the tranquillity of all concerned, that the French were re-instated in their former superiority as dancing-masters, hair-dressers, &c.

Notwithstanding the applause with which the King's proposal of war was received, yet the formation of the new administration did not produce the effect which Cahier de Gerville expected. The King had enemies who were vexed with every measure which

tended to render him popular, and used every means to counteract their effect.

The King's circumspection in adapting his conduct to the forms of the Constitution, the popularity which he had acquired by proposing the declaration of war, alarmed them so much, that they thought it necessary to revive a tale which had formerly been circulated, and had afterwards been discredited, namely, that a society of persons chosen by the Queen frequently met in the apartments of Madame de Lamballe, on purpose to concert measures to assist the Emperor in his invasion of France, and to send occasional instructions how to proceed. This was called the Austrian Committee ; and it was imagined that it would raise a greater indignation, and on that very account be more eagerly believed, now when the Emperor was at war with France, than formerly. The Journals therefore began again to be filled with

with accounts of this dreadful Committee; harangues against it were made nightly in the Jacobin Club, and it became the chief theme of the orators in the Palais Royal. These manœuvres produced the desired effect upon all who take repeated assertion for proof; but as many remained incredulous, it was thought necessary to fabricate something which should have the appearance of more substantial evidence for them, and some devices were used of a very perfidious nature \*.

In

\* One instance of this is so remarkable in its circumstances as to be worth mentioning. A person of the name of Richet de Cerisi came to Renaut de St. Jean d'Angeli, Member of the Constituent Assembly, and at that time editor of the *Journal de Paris*, and delivered to him a message in the name of Madame de Lamballe, desiring him to come on the following Friday to her apartments, as he had been elected a Member of the Committee, and that he would there find his friends M. Malouet, and also Messrs. Bertrand and Montmorin.

Renaut

In the mean time an occurrence happened which produced an extraordinary fermentation

Renaut being flattered with the invitation, of the genuineness of which he had not the least doubt, called on M. Malouet, and expressed satisfaction in the opportunities he would have of meeting him at the Committee at Madame de Lamballe's. This drew to an explanation. M. Malouet assured Renaut that he was played upon; that as for his own part he was a Member of no Committee, and that he had not the honour of being at all acquainted with Madame de Lamballe. M. Malouet informed M. Bertrand of this; who immediately sent a message to Madame de Lamballe, then in the country, desiring to know if she was acquainted with Richet de Cérifi, &c. Madame de Lamballe returned for answer, that she knew no such man, had sent no such message, and that no Committee had ever met in her apartments.

At this very time two fellows had been haranguing in the gardens of the Palais Royal against the Austrian Committee; but had not so fully engrossed the attention of their auditors, as to prevent their being detected in the act of picking pockets in the heat of their oration. They were carried before a magistrate; and on a strict examination, a patent of affiliation as Members of the Ja-

tion in the minds of the people, and even of the Deputies ; of which advantage being taken by the King's enemies, it had an effect with

cobin Society was found on each, and it appeared that both had been marked with an iron on the shoulder as thieves.

On the evening before those two fellows were taken up, Carra in the Jacobin Club denounced M. Bertrand and M. Montmorin as leading Members in the Austrian Committee ; on which M. Bertrand instituted a process against Carra, who when brought before the Judge declared that he had made that denunciation on the authority of Merlin of Thionville, Bazire, and Chabot the Capuchin. Richet de Cerifi absconded. M. Bertrand published a Memorial against Carra and his informers, in which the episode of the two branded thieves who were Members of the Jacobin Club made a conspicuous figure, to the great mortification of the Jacobins, and of all those who had been zealous in asserting the existence of the dreaded Austrian Committee ; all evidence of which vanished on investigation, as the misshapen phantoms of fear vanish from the eyes of the bewildered traveller at the light of the morning. It would have been fortunate if the affair had ended here ; but M. Lariviere,

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with which it might naturally have been thought to have no connection.

A large edition of the Memoirs of Ma-

the Judge before whom M. Bertrand's complaint had been carried, being filled with indignation against Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, imprudently ordered them to be arrested. They immediately complained to the Legislative Assembly, of which they were Members. The Assembly, more affected with the insult offered to three of their own Members, than with the falsehood which they had propagated, decreed that Lariviere should be sent prisoner to Orleans, to be tried by the High Tribunal there. The unhappy man was afterwards massacred at Versailles, with the other prisoners. No farther notice was taken of Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, except in the following lines, which were often repeated at the time, and were thought to be more distinguished for the truth than the wit they contain:

Connoissez-vous rien de plus sot

Que Merlin, Bazire, et Chabot?

A-t-on vu rien de plus coquin

Que Chabot, Bazire, et Merlin?

Non : il n'existe rien de pire

Que Merlin, Chabot, et Bazire.

dame de la Motte had been bought long before by the direction of Government, and was locked up in a room of M. la Porte's house in the Louvre. He was at that time Intendant de la Liste Civile, and from the hurry of affairs had neglected to destroy this work until the 30th of May 1792, when he made them be carefully packed up in a couple of waggons, and carried to the manufactory at Seves, where they were burned; but during the execution of this, as the spectators were prevented from satisfying the curiosity which they expressed to examine what the piles of paper were, which they beheld in this mysterious manner committed to the flames, some of them concluded that they could be no other than the registers of the famous Austrian Committee of which they had heard so much, but of whose existence no trace had ever been discovered before. This sagacious inference was no sooner made than the news

was

was spread, that the records of the horrid Austrian Committee had been burned at Seves; and within a few hours the street orators of Paris repeated to the groups assembled in the public places the contents of some of those bloody records, which they pretended to have learned from persons who had read them, in spite of the care taken to prevent it. Those who had ever expressed a doubt of the existence of an Austrian Committee in the castle of the Tuileries were treated as miscreants. The news was brought to the National Assembly, where it excited the most violent agitation and heat; in the midst of which a member who watched an opportunity for obtaining a decree against the constitutional household troops, thought the present rage against the Court would answer the purpose as well as any accusation against the troops themselves. He therefore proposed that they should be immediately reduced, and that



the Duke of Brissac their commander, who in all probability was a member of the Austrian Committee, and possibly was privy to the burning of the records, should be sent prisoner to Orleans.

The next day M. de la Porte appeared at the bar, and gave the most convincing evidence that the papers burned at Seves were the Memoirs of Madame de la Motte, and that no other paper or record of any kind had been destroyed on that occasion. But these false rumours had produced the effects which their fabricators wished; and the effects continued after their falsehood and the infamy of their authors were made manifest. The constitutional household troops were not re-established; and new sources of calumny against the King and Queen were opened with more efficacy than ever.

In former administrations, but particularly in that immediately preceding the present, means had been used and considerable sums

expended in engaging agents in the tribunes of the Assembly, in the coffee-houses, and among the circles, to support the measures of the Court. Various Journals were retained, and pamphlets frequently appeared for the same purpose. All this in some degree counterbalanced the unremitting efforts of the Jacobins. This counteraction being now suppressed, the torrent of calumny flowed with new force; and the Administration which the King had been advised to form, on purpose to render him popular, only contributed to make the designs of his enemies more dangerous, and their agents more daring. The seditious and disgusting scenes which had been long exhibited in the Palais Royal, were now extended to the garden of the Tuileries. The eyes of the Royal Family were often shocked with the sight of men dragged about by the mob, or ducked in the canal immediately before the front of the palace, on an accusation of aris-

trocracy. The Queen could not appear at the windows without danger of insult from the gestures or language of some of the people beneath. Whatever declarations she may have made against promoting any plan of counter-revolution, or of strengthening the King's mind in his resolution of conforming to the present system, it is impossible to imagine that she did not abhor it in her heart; and unfortunately it was not always in her power to prevent strong indications of that abhorrence from appearing in her words and behaviour, not only in the presence of her friends but also in that of her enemies—all of which were carefully retailed with exaggeration, commented upon in clubs, and published in pamphlets.

The two leading men in the present Administration were of such opposite characters, that there was no probability of their acting long in agreement together. Dumas was a soldier of fortune, of an ambitious

bitious and enterprising mind, who undoubtedly preferred the new Constitution to the old government, but whose most ardent desire was to obtain situations in which the abilities he was conscious of possessing might be brought into extensive action. Roland was a man of rigid morals, a stern republican, and somewhat of a pedant. Of these two Ministers the least disagreeable to the Court was the former. M. Lacoste and M. de Grave were attached to him ; but when M. de Grave was under the necessity, on account of ill health, to resign, M. Servan, a Colonel in the Army, and author of a book entitled " Soldat Citoyen," was appointed his successor. As M. Duranton was peculiarly attached to neither party, and the new Minister with Claviere was entirely devoted to Roland, the latter now acquired a preponderance in the Council ; and being at the same time supported in the National Assembly by the Gironde faction,

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in the Municipality and among the populace by Petion now Mayor of Paris, Manuel Procureur of the Commune, and other avowed republicans, his influence seemed almost irresistible. A difference of opinion had existed among the Council since the beginning of this administration ; but after the nomination of Servan, animosities were more fierce and frequent.

As the King always employed a Priest who had not taken the oaths to the Constitution, this circumstance had been often mentioned in the Clubs and by the street orators as a proof of his aversion to it : it was proposed that the six Ministers should address the King to dismiss his present Confessor, and employ one who had taken the oaths. Dumourier opposed this as persecuting and absurd. Lacoste and Duranton were of the same opinion ; and no such address was made. The King, when he heard of this attempt, said that he had given  
proofs

proofs of being able to make great sacrifices; and, if he should be pressed to act contrary to his conscience in religious points, he could sacrifice his life also.

The two parties which divided the Assembly at this period were that of the Gironde, strengthened and supported as has been mentioned, and that called Feuillans, which consisted of those Deputies in the Assembly who wished to preserve the monarchy according to the Constitution, and was supported without doors by many of the principal members of the late Constituent Assembly, and other persons of character and weight, particularly by M. La Fayette, who commanded one of the armies on the frontiers. It was also supposed that a great majority of the Parisian National Guards adhered to the principles of the Feuillans. This last circumstance probably was the cause of a letter which Servan wrote to the President of the National Assembly, proposing

ing a decree for assembling an army of 20,000 in the neighbourhood of Paris, to be levied from all the different departments, and to rendezvous at the capital on the 14th of July, the day of the celebration of the Confederation.

The pretext for this was the protection of the capital. The real motive was to support that controul which Roland and the Girondists had acquired and wished to maintain over the Court. Servan was severely reproached in the Council by Dumourier and M. Lacoste for this step, which there can be little doubt of his having taken with the approbation of Roland and Claviere. The decree was warmly opposed in the Assembly by the whole party of the Feuillans, and all the men of moderation who were devoted to no party, but who saw the danger of assembling 20,000 undisciplined troops at the capital, and who considered this danger as the greater, because it was

promoted by the Jacobins of Paris. It was indeed obvious that this Club, by their influence with the Corresponding Societies in all the departments of France, would be able to have the whole body of the officers composed of Jacobins; and that when this army should arrive near Paris, they would be under the direction of those who had the government of the Club of Jacobins there, particularly of Danton, who having returned from Marseilles had resumed his influence among them; and of Robespierre, who had been cultivating them with equal address and assiduity ever since the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. Representations of this nature were made to some of the leading members of the Gironde; and it was even foretold that those two men would finally establish their power on the ruins not only of the Feuillans but of the Girondists. Condorcet, Brissot, and others of  
that



that party, were too much of philosophers to believe in prophecies, and at the same time so eager to bring down the power of the King, that they overlooked a greater danger which threatened them more nearly : like the man who, while he was intently aiming at an eagle in the air, received a mortal bite from an adder at his feet.

Moralists need not be surprised that precept, however eloquently conveyed, should be ineffectual in turning men from enterprises to which they are prompted by their passions, when they find how often even example fails. Nothing perhaps ever more illustrated the small impression which repeated example makes on the minds of men bent upon a favourite object, than the successive fates which have attended many of the chief promoters of the French Revolution \*.

Although

\* Camille Desmoulins, in a speech delivered in the Jacobin Club about the beginning of May 1793, ob-

Although Dumourier disapproved highly  
of the proposal of the levies from the depart-  
ments

served " that the Abbé Maury the royalist was vanquished by Mounier and his two houses of parliament; Mounier and his two houses by Mirabeau with his absolute negative; Mirabeau's absolute negative by the suspensive veto of Barnave; the veto of Barnave by Brissot, who would admit of no other negative but that of himself and his friends. All these rogues," he continues to observe, " were swept by each other from the Jacobins, to make room for Danton and Robespierre, the founders of the indivisible republic."

He then concludes, in a style peculiar to himself—  
" Thus Necker, Orleans, La Fayette, Mirabeau, Bailly, Duport, Lameth, Guadet, Genzoné, Petion, Brissot, have been the impure vases from which, in the mould of the Jacobin Club, has been cast the golden statue of the Republic, after the example of that curate who made his silver image of the Virgin out of melted chamber-pots."

But Camille Desmoulins little thought, when he spoke in this light manner at the Jacobin's, that he and his friend Danton were in a very short time to be  
melted

ments to form an army at the capital, and used his influence in the Assembly to prevent the decree from passing ; yet when it had passed, and when he saw the joy it occasioned in the capital, he advised the King to sanction both this decree and that against the Clergy. All the difficulty and danger of his situation could not prevail upon him to adopt this measure. He negatived both. This was no sooner known than fresh torrents of calumny and abuse were poured from the Jacobin reservoir against the King, against all the different races of Kings that have governed France since the beginning of the monarchy. Every means were used to inflame the people and to terrify the Court.

melted in the same mould ; nor did Robespierre suspect, when he sacrificed Danton who was his chief protector at the time of Louvet's accusation, and Camille for whom he had always professed the warmest friendship, that he himself should so soon fall by those who at that period trembled under his tyranny.

Addresses

Addressee were read at the bar from different descriptions of citizens, thanking the Assembly for the two wise decrees which had been rejected *by the influence of evil counsellors over the mind of the King*. Processions of men armed with pikes marched from the suburbs, with petitions to the Assembly to persevere until the sanction of both decrees should be obtained. Roland wrote a letter of remonstrance to the King on his past conduct, insisting on the necessity of removing the veto from the two decrees, and insinuating that the greatest and most imminent danger would attend any further delay. “ *Déjà l’opinion compromet les intentions de votre Majesté ; encore quelque délai, et le Peuple contristé verra dans son Roi l’ami et le complice des conspirateurs \**.”

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\* Already has public opinion thrown suspicion on your Majesty’s intention. If there should be any fur-

The addressers from the suburbs who marched with brandished pikes to the Assembly had not a more threatening aspect than this letter. It was more than the forbearance even of Lewis XVI could support. Roland, with Claviere and Servan, was dismissed from the Ministry. The former immediately took a measure still more unjustifiable than writing the letter : he read it to the National Assembly, who ordered it to be printed, and transmitted to the eighty-three departments, declaring at the same time that he and his two colleagues carried with them the regret of the nation. The flame which this kindled against the King and the Clergy who refused to take the oaths was excessive ; and if the letter was written less with a view to warn the King of an imminent danger than of having it

ther delay in sanctioning the two decrees, the vexed people will look on their King as the friend and accomplice of the conspirators.

published

published on purpose to produce the effect it did produce, which is the opinion of many, the conduct of Roland in this instance was unpardonable.

Dumourier was now appointed Minister of War ; M. Mourgues, a Protestant Clergyman, by his recommendation, was appointed to succeed Roland ; M. Naillac, at that time Envoy from France at the Court of Deux Ponts, was named Minister for Foreign Affairs ; and the King proposed M. de Vergennes, nephew to the deceased Minister of that name, for the Finance ; but he declined the office, which remained for some time vacant.

Dumourier was considered as the First Minister ; and it required all the courage he possessed to determine him to accept of so perilous a situation. The majority of the Assembly and the public in general were full of indignation on account of the dismissal of Roland. Dumourier had given

notice that he was to read to the Assembly a memorial respecting the war. The galleries were crowded on the morning of the 14th of June, when Dumourier entered the Assembly. He had been hissed by the populace without, as he passed through them. The tribunes resounded with the noise of disapprobation when he entered the hall. He was often interrupted by clamour, as he read his memorial. The determined intrepidity of his look and manner kept the rage of his enemies in some check. Having signed his memorial, and placed it on the bar, he retired without farther insult. He again represented to the King the necessity of yielding to a torrent which threatened to overwhelm him and his family, if he attempted any longer to oppose it. The King, it has been thought, suspected that Dumourier wanted to terrify him into this measure, with a view that he himself might regain the favour of the Jacobins. What-  
ever

ever may be in that conjecture, the King readily rejected the proposal. Dumourier resigned. His example was followed by the other Ministers. Messrs. La Coste and Duranton were afterwards persuaded to remain, and form part of a new Administration ; but the latter, having soon after carried to the Assembly the King's veto to the obnoxious decrees, was so terrified with his reception on that occasion, that he again delivered his resignation, and retired to the country.

M. La Fayette was on the worst terms at this period with the Jacobins, with Roland, and the whole party of the Gironde. This was also the case with Dumourier. A jealousy at the same time subsisted between the latter and M. La Fayette. It might have been expected that a common danger from a formidable enemy would have reconciled those two men to each other. Their mutual interest clearly pointed out



this measure. The more sedate character of Englishmen generally inclines them to sacrifice their passions, that of hatred at least, to what they consider as their interest. Innumerable instances in the course of this revolution tend to prove that no consideration of interest, not even the view of impending ruin, can controul the fierce animosities of the French. It was the opinion of some, that a cordial junction of La Fayette with Dumourier, supported by the Feuillans and other friends of the Constitution, would have been the means of preserving it. Nothing can be more evident now, than that their continued enmity and discord greatly contributed to the ruin of the Constitution, of the Royal Family, and of the two Generals themselves.

When the King persevered in his veto to the two decrees, he must have relied for support on the Feuillans and on M. La

Fayette. But he over-rated their power. He had been accustomed to see those men who were now at the head of the Feuillant party carry every point ; but it was when they were striving not to re-establish order but to overthrow a government \*. The Gironde party now had the same advantage over the Feuillans that the latter formerly had over the Mouniers, the Lally Tolendals, the Malouets, and what Robespierre and

\* It is much easier to lead the populace of any country into disorders of any kind, than to bring them back to order and respect for law ; because the populace of all countries have a natural taste for noise and riot. Whether the outcry is *Vive le Roi*, or *A bas le veto* ; when marrow-bones and cleavers are most noisy, when tallow chandlers bellow the loudest for illuminations, the real source of the commotion is often mistaken.

Is it for thee the lark ascends and sings ?  
 Joy tunes his voice, joy elevates his wings.  
 Is it for thee the linnet pours his throat ?  
 Loves of his own and raptures swell the note.

Danton acquired over the Gironde as soon as Roland and Brissot began to preach respect for the laws, and the restoration of order. The King seems to have overlooked this distinction when he relied on the support of the Feuillans and on M. La Fayette. The latter fell into an error of as great importance, by addressing a long letter from the Camp of Maubeuge to the National Assembly, complaining of the conduct of the Jacobin Society at Paris, and imputing the dangers and calamities of the country to that society and its branches, which molested every department, particularly by insulting the constitutional power of the King, which was one of the chief pillars of law and of liberty. This was accompanied with a letter to the King, encouraging him to persist in supporting that authority which the nation had delegated to him, and assuring him of the support of  
all

all the true friends of freedom and all the most respectable citizens. The first part of this advice was observed by the King as much as was possible in his situation ; but the assurances given by M. La Fayette failed in a deplorable degree.

When M. La Fayette's letter was read in the Assembly, M. Vergniaux represented that the remonstrances of a General at the head of an army to the Assembly had the appearance of an attempt to overawe the Legislature. Guadet said ironically, that the letter was so much in the style of Cromwell, that it could not possibly be written by M. La Fayette. The Jacobins were quite outrageous against the General, whom they compared to Cromwell, and proposed that he should be arrested and sent to Orleans as a traitor ; they themselves and their agents in the mean time were exciting the populace to insurrection, and at last they brought on the shameful transactions of the 20th  
of

of June, of which we have given a particular account elsewhere \*.

When M. de la Fayette heard of the outrages of that day, he set out for the capital. The news of his arrival gave satisfaction to all the lovers of order and of the Constitution, and struck the Jacobins with alarm. His letter to the Assembly fully expressed his sentiments respecting their general conduct ; every body knew that it had been more atrocious since his letter than it had been before ; nobody doubted therefore but that his errand to Paris was to bring the authors of that insurrection to punishment, which it was evident the majority of the Assembly had no inclination to do ; and it was of course believed either that his army was in full march after him, or that he was assured of such support in the capital itself

\* Vide A Journal during a Residence in France, &c. vol. ii. page 202 to page 222.

as would enable him to accomplish his purpose. The King and the Court were of this opinion. M. La Fayette appeared alone at the bar of the National Assembly ; this circumstance strengthened the general conjecture that he was conscious of being supported. In his address to the Assembly he began by avowing the letter he had written to them ; and in the name of the army and of all good citizens he demanded “ the punishment of the instigators and executors of the violences of the 20th, the suppression of the Jacobin Societies, and that the Assembly would take measures for preventing all attempts against the Constitution from internal enemies, while the army was repelling foreign foes from the frontiers.”

The Assembly remained for some time in silent consternation. The joy that M. de la Fayette's arrival had given to the Court, and some attentions shewn him by the National

tional Guards, still impressed many of the Deputies with the notion of his having a strong support within the city of Paris. Guadet dispelled their fears by the briskness of his attack ; he inveighed against the General for leaving the army, and desired that the Minister of War might be questioned whether he had asked and obtained leave. This produced a debate ; and several severe speeches were made by those who would have remained overawed, had not Guadet begun in the bold manner he did. And although it was carried at last that no immediate censure should be passed upon him, yet it tended to disconcert M. La Fayette very greatly. And such was the activity of the Jacobins among the populace, that the General's friends advised him to return to his army, as the only means of preventing his being arrested. There is every reason to believe that the intentions of M. La Fayette were good, but his conduct on this occasion

certainly

certainly was ill advised. For an individual to exact any thing of a body of men such as the National Assembly, without having the power of controlling them, is ridiculous; and to imagine that his presence, without the certainty of being followed by his army, would have a better effect than his letter, was equally so.

The festival of the Confederation was now at hand ; it was celebrated on the 14th of July on the same ground, but with fewer ceremonies than the former ; the priests in particular were less numerous, and some of the religious ceremonies were entirely omitted. The King and all the Royal Family were present. The populace, being left to their natural emotions, made some reparation for the outrages of the 20th of June ; the shouts of *Vive le Roi!* extinguished every attempt that was made of an insulting nature.

This redoubled the diligence of the Jacobin



bin and Gironde parties ; they brought forward all their old means, and invented new ones to prejudice the public against the King. La Fayette's letter was represented in the Journals as high treason against the nation. He was called a liberticide, and a second Cromwell ; with this difference, that he acted in concert with the King against the liberty of the people ; and he was accused of having proposed to march with his army against Paris. A considerable body of Federates, as they are called, arrived from different departments ; those from Marseilles were a set of the most desperate fellows on earth, and had been chosen on that account. They committed many disorders in their march to Paris ; and were entirely under the direction of determined republicans. Another procession from the suburbs of St. Antoine to the Tuileries was now openly spoken of, with a view to oblige the King to remove his veto from the two famous decrees,

crees, and to depose him in case he should refuse: the Jacobins in general were for the last measure, without the alternative.

The King's friends were more alarmed than ever for his safety, and that of the Royal Family. Another attempt to escape from the capital, and out of the reach of his enemies, was thought necessary at any risk. The following plan for that purpose was formed by a person faithfully attached to the King, and who had held a high office under the Constitution. The King and Royal Family were to go to Gaillon, a villa belonging to the Archbishop of Rouen, situated within three leagues of that city, and twenty leagues from Paris, the precise distance allowed by the Constitution. They were to go out of the Tuileries through the hotel of the Intendant of the Civil List, the communication of which with the palace was only separated by a wooden partition easily removed, and guarded by a single sentinel,

sentinel, who was to be secured. The principal entry to this hotel was from the court of the Old Louvre, where two or three coaches were usually seen about eleven or twelve at night, belonging to those who supped with the Intendant. On the night designed for the King's escape nobody was to be invited; but two common coaches were to be ready for the reception of the Royal Family, with no attendant except one maid, and two confidential persons dressed like footmen, one behind each carriage. They were to go out of Paris at the usual hour that those who lived in the neighbourhood and supped in town returned to their houses. The three thousand Swiss whom the King had been obliged by a decree to send out of the capital, were to be distributed at different stations on the road from Paris to Pontoise. The King's Horse Guards, who had been lately reduced, and still resided in the capital, the gallant Count

d'Hervilly their former commander, to whom they were greatly attached, engaged to have all ready at twelve hours previous notice. Their horses were in the stables at Versailles, which they were to have broken into on the night appointed, and to have met the King within a league of Paris, and accompanied him to Pontoise, where they were sure of finding two regiments of Swiss, which with the three thousand above mentioned, and the six hundred Horse Guards under d'Hervilly, would have formed a body of troops sufficient for the protection of the Royal Family, for some time at least. The King was to have wrote from Gaillon to the Assembly, to inform them of the motives of his departure; and if they should have marched an army to attack him, he was to have removed to Fécamp on the sea-coast, where the Commissary of the Marine would have ordered a vessel for the reception of the Royal Family, to be entirely at the

King's disposal, and to transport them wherever he should direct. M. le Fort, an intelligent General Officer, had set out from Paris at the end of July for Normandy, on purpose to examine Gaillon, its environs, and the coast ; and to sound the disposition of the inhabitants. He returned on the fifth of August with a report favourable for the enterprise. The departure of the Royal Family was to have taken place on the night of the seventh of August ; every thing was in great forwardness for the execution ; the utmost secrecy had been preserved ; but the Queen, independent of the impression which the ill success of their former attempt had made on her mind, felt an additional repugnance to the enterprise, because the commanding officer of the troops in Normandy was a Constitutional Deputy. And although there was no doubt of that nobleman's zeal in protecting the Royal Family on the present occasion, and

of

of his desire to support the Constitution against the Jacobins and Girondists, yet the circumstance above-mentioned rendered her more and more averse to the scheme, as the moment of its execution drew nearer. On the evening of the sixth, she prevailed on the King to send a message to the person who had the chief direction of the enterprise to suspend his preparations, because her Majesty thought the measure should not be adopted until the last extremity—little imagining, unfortunate Princess! that the last extremity was already arrived, and that she would never have another opportunity\*.

It

\* So unconscious was the Queen of her danger, and of the horrors that awaited her, that three days after that which had been fixed on for the escape, when she and the rest of the Royal Family were seated in the box at the National Assembly, on the fatal tenth of August, immediately before the firing began, she said to M.

It was imagined that the inevitable consequence of the King's escape would have been involving the nation in a civil war, and other calamities. But what calamities could have been greater than those which have actually taken place? Every person of common humanity in Europe, therefore, whatever may be their sentiments respecting the French Revolution in other respects, will lament that the escape of the Royal Family of France was not effected at this time. Above all, France herself has cause to lament it, as it would have saved her from the deepest stigma that ever was fixed on a nation.

Is the rejection of this plan of escape to be considered now as unfortunate for the three persons who were most interested in its success

d'Hervilly, "Eh bien! M. d'Hervilly, n'avons nous pas bien fait de ne pas partir?" To which that gentleman answered, "Je souhaite, Madame, que votre Majesté me fasse la même question dans six mois d'ici."

at the time, and have been since cut off—one of them by a sentence directly in opposition to the Constitution adopted and sworn to by his judges—the other two by the most wanton, unmanly, and detestable exercise of tyranny, that ever revolted the soul of humanity.

The murder of the Queen and Princess seems so completely without provocation, view of interest, or meaning, as would almost tempt us to think that men may by a diabolical perversion of nature, from habitual crimes come at last to love wickedness for its own sake, and find in vice its own reward.

That those three eminent persons failed in accomplishing their escape, will assuredly not be thought unfortunate for their fame in this world; and it is devoutly to be believed that it will contribute to their everlasting reward in the next.

Had they completed their escape, the  
King



King would not have had an opportunity of displaying that firmness of mind and reach of understanding which appeared on his trial; nor would he in his last will have had occasion to exhibit a degree of Christian resignation which equals, and a delicacy and tenderness of sentiment which surpasses, any thing recorded of the most celebrated martyrs of the Roman church.

And the Queen would have had no opportunity of exhibiting that undisturbed circumspection and presence of mind discernible in her answers to the most captious and insidious interrogatories; particularly when, on the judge expressing surprise at her not knowing a person to whom she had rendered great services, she calmly replied, "It is possible for those who confer favours to forget them; while those on whom they are conferred find it *impossible*." And also, when having disdained to take any notice of a brutal charge which was brought against her,

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her,

her, on its being repeated she repelled the monstrous accusation by an appeal to human nature, as it exists in the hearts of mothers. Indeed, the whole of her conduct from the moment of her confinement tends to render many of those tales which slander circulated to her prejudice with such avidity, absolutely incredible; and the attachment, the affection, the fidelity and dignity, which in the most trying scenes she manifested to her husband, her children, her friends, and her enemies, throw back a lustre on the imperial line from which she sprung, brighter than that which she derived from it.

This cruel arrest likewise afforded the Princess Elizabeth the means of proving before a tribunal of atheists what a degree of composure religion can communicate to a mind naturally timid, and to what elevation it can raise a mind naturally unassuming. Disdaining any concession which might soften their cruelty, and despising the wrath which

which she knew her answer would excite, to the first interrogatory of the Court, What is your name? she greatly replied, "*My name is Elizabeth of France, sister to the Monarch you murdered, and aunt to your present King.*"

Those and other scenes of unparalleled cruelty were acted under the influence or during the usurpation of Robespierre.

Thus the French people, having obtained a limited monarchical Constitution, under which, with the timely alterations and reforms that experience would have indicated and new circumstances rendered expedient, the nation might have been prosperous and happy, had they not with equal levity and guilt overthrown it almost without a trial.

The French Revolution exhibits at once the mischiefs that attend the abuse of power and those that attend the abuse of liberty; affording a warning to sovereigns, not only

against direct acts of cruelty, but also against that lavishness of the public money which necessarily leads to the oppression of the people, and raises general discontent and indignation. It affords likewise a warning to the subjects of every free government against all licentious disregard of law, all attack on the rights of any class of their fellow-citizens, or the ascertained prerogatives of the sovereign; as every unprovoked attack of that nature tends to render all men's rights insecure, leads to the horrors of anarchy, and generally terminates in the destruction of that liberty they wish to preserve.

T H E    E N D.

ERRATA TO VOL. II.

Page 176. line 9th, after *Deputies* read *were*.

322. line 16th; for *occurred* read *was added*.

423. line 17th, del. *he had an* before the word *Assembly*, and del. also *to deal with who* immediately after the same word.

Mr. J. C. to General D. R.

SM  
R. J. V.













